

THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Eccliaistical Affairs.

THE NATION AND THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

No. I.

"AN ANOMALY BUT NOT AN OPPRESSION."

THE Manchester Conference has been held and has separated. The broader, and perhaps it may be added, the more practical policy upon which its opinion was invited by the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society has received its deliberate and emphatic sanction. The detriment sustained by the nation from the action and influence of its State-Church system, apart from the injustice it inflicts upon the religious denominations outside its pale, is henceforth to be brought in greater prominence and with untiring persistence under the notice of those "ordinary Englishmen" from whom, we are told, and told truly, "it is not easy to get a decisive answer whether they are for or against the disestablishment of the Church." Steps also are to be taken for devising and placing before the public a clear, well-matured scheme of disendowment, indicating the principles which Parliament should be asked to recognise, and the methods it should employ, in giving legislative effect to the policy in question. The Manchester Conference is to be followed by several other local gatherings of a similar kind; and these, in their turn, will usher in a lengthened spell of resolute, vigorous, and multifarious effort.

All this, we are told, "tells on the face of it one tale—that there is no popular movement on the subject whatever, and that Liberationists have not merely to devise their scheme, but to create their grievance." Indeed, "there could hardly be a plainer admission that the question is not a practical one, from sheer lack of any general appreciation of its urgency." Now, stripping these sentences, and others to the same effect in the comments of London journals, of their rhetorical exaggeration, what in substance is the naked sense they must be taken to set forth? Suppose, for example, we could put these writers into the witness-box, and cross-examine them as to the body of fact over which they have thrown the drapery of their own unqualified asseverations, would the evidence extorted from them amount to more than this—that the promoters of "a Free Church in a Free State" have not yet done all that is required to be done to give irresistible force to their move-

ment? Would they venture to deny that much has been done, or to express a doubt that more may and will be done? Would they not be compelled to own that all practical movements in this country must pass through several stages before they reach that ante-penultimate one at which leading statesmen are driven to assume the responsibility of attempting to give to them legislative effect? Precisely the same taunts were flung—and that, moreover, in by no means an early period of their progress—at the men who took in hand the questions of free-trade, the abolition of slavery, and Parliamentary reform, by the journalists whose powers of prevision never penetrate beyond a month or two into the future. The Liberationists, therefore, have little reason for surprise if, until the balance of public opinion and feeling clearly declares itself in favour of the object at which they are aiming, they should be jeered at by scribes who draw their inspiration from the atmosphere of *dolce far niente* clubs, as in pursuit of a phantom which must evermore elude their grip.

What are Liberationists doing now, we are asked, but "creating the grievance" they professedly seek to redress? Not quite so, either. According to their apprehensions, the grievance exists, and their business will be to unveil it, in all the phases of its operation, to the popular mind. They are very far indeed from "creating for themselves the bugbear they denounce." "Whether or not," says the *Times*, "it would be an ideally better state of things to be without an Establishment, the average elector just at present scarcely ventures to speculate, but now that the Church practically imposes no other burden on him than that of paying tithes, which he would have to do in any case, he is very well content to let it go its own way, if it will keep within reasonable limits." Well, to take the lowest ground suggested by this writer, "the average elector" might be roused to take cognisance of the object for securing which the country is required to make that payment, and of the general result which it produces; and should he become convinced that, even in regard to the kind of good it is set apart to achieve, it is not merely unnecessary, but seals up other sources of pecuniary support which the more spontaneous they are the fuller is their supply, he would probably desire that so considerable a national revenue should be made to subserve ends in the advantage of which he would unquestionably share. But it may be that the visit may be removed from his mind in respect of higher interests than those of pounds, shillings, and pence. It is not to be concluded that he has no grievance, from the mere fact that he is unaware of the modes in which, and of the extent to which, it presses upon him. Many a man lives but a feeble, inelastic, unjoyous kind of life through having his residence on a damp soil or in a malarious climate, whom want of knowledge blinds to the real cause of the low-toned state of his health. For many years the British people had painful experience of all sorts of depressing influences and circumstances before they were made aware that their real grievance, little as they had theretofore suspected the fact, consisted in the system of protection imposed by law upon the commerce of the country, professedly, too, with an intent to foster it. Neither the pioneers nor the subsequent leaders of the free-trade movement "created the grie-

vance" they laboured to remove—they did but reveal it and trace it to its source. The Liberation Society intends to do the same thing in regard to the Church Establishment.

But the State Church is "now only an anomaly, and not an oppression." We shall have something definite to say to this by-and-bye. Meanwhile, we may ask what, in a national point of view, is to be considered an oppression? If by the use of the term in the above phrase it be merely intended to state that citizens in the present day are not dragged before magistrates, nor shut up in gaol, nor pilloried, whipped and mutilated, nor put to an ignominious death, because they do not believe what the State Church was instituted to make them believe, why, of course,

There needs no ghost, my lord, come from the grave, To tell us this.

But, surely, the term, taken in the connection in which it stands, must have been used to cover a broader meaning. Here is an institution, the necessary, or, at any rate, the natural, tendency of which is, by an incessant obtrusion of its own exclusive claim, to deteriorate, disunite, and obstruct the free and healthy development of the national life in regard to education throughout its whole range, in regard to humanitarian efforts in well nigh all its organised manifestations, in regard to the drawing more closely together of social relations, and the dispassionate treatment of social problems, in regard to political action as well in the constituencies as in Parliament, not to speak of it in regard to the spiritual uprearing of the people. It may not operate directly, nor tangibly, upon individual experience. Its evil influence is subtle. It acts like a miasmatic exhalation, impairing the vigour of the nation's manhood, wasting its means, and neutralising some of its strongest impulses to better its condition. If there be any truth in this, the grievance it inflicts is not so much this man's or that man's—it is that of the entire community. The burden it imposes is a national one. The oppression is not the less real because it weighs alike upon all.

MR. GLADSTONE ON THE VATICAN DECREES.

POLITICAL pamphlets by great statesmen have necessarily an interest far deeper than that attaching to the logic or eloquence of such productions. And while the "Political Expostulation" just issued by the late Premier has, from a literary point of view, remarkable, indeed extraordinary merits, these are likely to be overlooked by most readers in eager speculation on the policy portended. For such speculation there is ample scope. For beyond a proud and almost haughty declaration that "our onward even course should not be changed by follies, the consequences of which, if the worst comes to the worst, this country will have alike the power and, in case of need, the will to control," we search in vain for any such evolution of the future from the past as that which gave so keen an interest to the "Chapter of Autobiography." Two points, however, we note with pleasure, as reassuring to Mr. Gladstone's political followers; though even on these points the pamphlet can hardly be said to do more than confirm previous impressions. The motive for writing was, we are told, not merely general justice to society, but "special justice as towards the party to which the writer is loyally attached, and which," as he adds with generous candour, "he may have had a share in placing at a disadvantage before his countrymen." These words are sufficient

to dissipate any idle fears that may have been entertained as to Mr. Gladstone's indifference to the leadership, to which his claims are so indisputable and unrivalled, that they impose a solemn obligation. Another point which we notice with no less satisfaction is the implied assurance that the unfortunate Irish University Bill, so scornfully rejected by the Roman Catholic prelates, is not likely to be offered to them again. "Their efforts were crowned with complete success," says Mr. Gladstone, unconsciously perhaps affording an illustration of the solemn irony of the Scriptural words concerning successful self-will,—"verily I say unto you they have their reward." "From that time forward," he adds, "I have felt that the situation was changed, and that important matters would have to be cleared by suitable explanations. The debt to Ireland had been paid; a debt to the country at large had still to be disposed of, and this has come to be the duty of the hour." We can hardly be mistaken in regarding these words as a renunciation of any attempt in future to adapt legislation to the unreasonable claims of Irish bishops.

But what was that "debt to the country at large which had still to be disposed of, and which has come to be the duty of the hour"? Is it entirely discharged by the publication of an eloquent pamphlet? This is a question to which, as we have intimated above, the pages before us do not suggest any very distinct reply. Yet it is difficult to suppose that the snarling criticisms of a few irritated ecclesiastics on a single sentence in a contribution of Mr. Gladstone's to the October number of the *Contemporary Review*, have been the only cause of a manifesto that must awaken the curiosity of the whole civilised world. The treatise must necessarily be read in connection with the famous but ineffectual speeches on the Public Worship Regulation Act. And in a subsidiary manner the recent article on Ritualism affords indications which should not be overlooked. Not the Irish University Bill alone, but the supposed religious inclinations of its author, had given rise to wholly groundless rumours of a too favourable regard on his part for the claims of a Church, venerable at least by age. Of the epistolary impertinences which such rumours have sometimes occasioned we do not care to speak, except as affording contemptible illustrations of the degree in which Protestant fears were aroused. This state of feeling caused Mr. Gladstone's position in the debates on the Public Worship Regulation Act to be scrutinised more suspiciously than would otherwise have been the case. It was, therefore, not unnatural that he should take the opportunity afforded by a period of literary leisure, for explaining, as he did in the *Contemporary Review*, if not directly, at least by implication, that his opposition to the new law had been occasioned, not by any want of sympathy with the anti-Papal convictions of Englishmen, but simply by a wish to protect the rightful spiritual freedom of the Church. In the course of this explanation it was almost inevitable that he should express in the strongest possible language his opinion of the futility of any attempt to Romanise the people of England. "At no time," said he, "since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible." And, he added, that it was more than ever impossible now when Rome has adopted a policy of violence and change in faith; "when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history."

The clamour raised by these honest words furnished a very convenient occasion for further explanations, the need of which must have been felt by every unprejudiced reader. How would Mr. Gladstone define the limits of that self-government and that elasticity of movement which he was so anxious to secure for the Anglican Church? And, on the other hand, what was it in Rome's assertions of her own spiritual independence and supremacy which excluded her from the benefits of Mr. Gladstone's arguments? Still further it might be asked, by what line of future policy did so distinguished a statesman propose to reconcile the spiritual and political elements of whose divergent tendencies he had shown himself so keenly conscious? The two former questions are answered, the second one exhaustively, in the pamphlet before us. The third question is scarcely touched; though we venture to think there are indications that no long period can elapse before this receives an answer also. It is with the second question, of course, that Mr. Gladstone deals directly. But in the treatment of this the first is answered by implication. The Roman Church is declared and is proved to

have ostentatiously obtruded her claims beyond the province of the spiritual power. On this subject it would be impossible to imagine a more complete and unanswerable argument. After quoting the modest and manly assurances given by Bishop Doyle and others on behalf of the Roman Catholics when the question of emancipation was in suspense, Mr. Gladstone goes on to show that the late Vatican decrees precisely reverse the propositions then advanced. Then the Romish advocates declared on oath that the Papal infallibility was not an article of the Catholic faith. Now it is a dogma of salvation. Then obedience to the Pope was strictly confined to matters of religious faith and to "those matters of ecclesiastical discipline which had already been defined by the competent authorities." Now obedience is claimed not only in matters of faith, but in practical morals, and in everything which the judgment of the Pope may regard as affecting the discipline and government of the Church. In vain does Dr. Manning declare in his hasty letter to Monday's papers that "the civil allegiance of no man is unlimited, and, therefore, the civil allegiance of all men who believe in God, or are governed by conscience, is in that sense divided." The difference between the Protestant and the Papist in this respect is plain and palpable. For the former regards no earthly authority as higher than the State, while the latter exalts above it the throne of the Vatican. The former denies the right of any earthly power other than that of public opinion to limit the jurisdiction of the State. So that if the State, supported by misguided opinion, tramples on conscience, the Protestant has no remedy but martyrdom, until he can bring the State to a better mind. The Catholic, on the other hand, insists now on the right of the Pope to determine the range of his own jurisdiction; and this, as the experience of a thousand years too abundantly proves, cannot be exercised without infringing on the province of the State. On such points Mr. Gladstone's case is strong, triumphant, inexpugnable; and all the inherited finesses of a hundred generations of ecclesiastics will not avail to shake it.

We are unable to agree that it has been "the peculiarity of the Roman Church among Christian communities to allow to itself an unbounded use, as far as its power would go, of earthly instruments for spiritual ends." The Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act, were not passed by the Roman Church; but we cannot help regarding them as very "earthly instruments" indeed. However, let that pass. We gather from the argument that when Mr. Gladstone has pleaded for some Congregational freedom and some elasticity of movement in the Anglican Church, he has done so because of the strong conviction he feels that this Church as distinguished from the State has a spiritual province of her own, which she may be trusted not to overstep. Of course an intellect so capable of comprehensive and accurate grasp of detail, has framed for itself a complete conception of the mode in which the various advantages of a Free and an Established Church could be accommodated and made compatible. Yet Mr. Gladstone must be quite as much alive as Bishop Ellicott to the constantly increasing complications of such a problem. And without putting any unfair construction on words used doubtless with a different purpose, it cannot but be interesting to note how clearly distinguishable in his view are the provinces of the State and of the Church. "Our Saviour," he tells us, "had recognised as distinct the two provinces of the civil rule and the Church; had nowhere intimated that the spiritual authority was to claim the disposal of physical force." Might we offer as an illustration of a contrary notion, the collection of "dominicals"? Again, "there are millions upon millions of the Protestants of this country, who would agree with Archbishop Manning if he were simply telling us that Divine truth is not to be sought from the lips of the State." There is an energy in these words which would seem to imply considerable sympathy with these "millions of Protestants." "The State will, I trust, be ever careful to leave the domain of religious conscience free, and yet to keep it to its own domain." We hope it is not presumptuous to suggest that the truest prophets are those who have the power of accomplishing their own predictions.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

It is not surprising to us to find that the Church Defence Institution proposes to copy the programme of organisation laid down at the recent Triennial Conference of the Liberation Society. This was what the four hundred committees of laymen did when the Church-rate discussion was at its height, but it seemed to us then, as it seems to us now, that copied tactics or organisations are usually

wanting not merely in originality but in force. Their life and their light are both borrowed, and, somehow or other, nobody seems to know how they gradually wane, and in the course of time, without any notice, drop out of existence. What they want is spontaneous vigour, or innate energy. They are not the result of growth but of manufacture. They die and leave no trace behind them.

Now, the Church Defence Institution might have been supposed to be capable of something apparently original, of striking out a new course for itself, and working it, for a time at least, with vigour. But, with all the sense of danger, that must, and is confessed to be, present to the minds of its committee, it has not been able to originate anything. The special statement of the Executive Committee of the institution is now before us. It is written in an exceptionally grave and solemn tone. We are told that "the future of the Church of England for generations will probably be determined by the events of the next ten years"; that "during that period a supreme effort is to be made to destroy the National Church of the country"; that the result of this "must mainly depend on the view taken by the majority of Englishmen on the question of disestablishment." The plans of the Liberation Society are next described, and Churchmen are told that, "isolated and desultory efforts are of little avail when opposed to a powerful organisation directed from headquarters in London, and acting with uniform regularity in bringing all its weight to bear where it can most be felt." Of course something must be done to meet this enemy. There must be "a vigorous and united effort" in the shape of extended organisations, more lecturers, more tracts, and more income. And, as the income of the Church Defence Institution is only 3,200*l.* a year, it is proposed to make it up to 10,000*l.*, and also to form a reserve fund of 100,000*l.*, "payable by instalments in five years." Lastly, an earnest appeal is made to Churchmen to act "with no ordinary energy and self-sacrifice." They must make, like Mrs. Dombey, "a determined effort." They are, therefore, told that England without a National Church would not be "Old England," and, the spirit of prophecy not being in the institution—although it embraces all the archbishops and bishops—that, if disestablishment should take place, "it is not in the power of man to say what the end will be." However, our friend the enemy apparently means work; let us see to it that we give him plenty to do.

But we have done a small injustice to the Church Defence Institution. Its committee have taken one course which has not previously been taken by the Liberation Society. It has made arrangements for a Church Defence Sunday, which, we believe, was last Sunday. An appeal had been made to every clergyman in the land to preach sermons and make collections on behalf of the society upon that day, and, according to the *Standard* of last Friday evening, that appeal had been well responded to from every diocese. Our evening contemporary goes out of its way to exhibit the reasonableness and urgency of the Church Defence Sunday. We need not follow it. The day has passed, and the efforts made have probably enriched the coffers of the Defenders. We shall still, however, hear, as heretofore, of "political Dissenters," who ask for the disestablishment of a political Church, but the clergymen who defend that Church are, of course, not political!

We have noticed elsewhere some of the comments of the press upon the Manchester Conference of the Liberation Society, but have reserved for this column a notice which appears in the *Church Times* of last week:—

On Wednesday last the Liberation Society's much-talked-of Conference took place at Manchester, and from the tone of the speeches it is sufficiently clear that an exceptionally strong effort will be made to bring the question prominently before Parliament next session. The Archbishop of York has been so successful in stamping out Ritualism, that in his diocese alone 25,000*l.* has been subscribed towards the expenses of the movement, and this fact goes to show that the Liberationists mean work. Recent circumstances have greatly favoured Mr. Miall and his friends, notably the Archbishop's Act for the suppression of Public Worship, as the severest blow which has been dealt to the principle of Establishment for many a long day. The chairman declared that Disestablishment must be made the great hustings question, and decide them as to the candidate whom they must support at any future election. Mr. Disraeli, now that he has avowedly taken up the Orange side, may not improbably utilise the action of the Liberation Society in the hope of strengthening his hands, and securing a longer tenure of office. Considering that he brought in a much more advanced Reform Bill than Mr. Gladstone would have ventured to propose, we should have no cause for surprise if for similar purposes he took the line which we have indicated.

Now, is there no such thing as gratitude? Here

is Mr. Disraeli, after having been pitched into office, by Churchmen of the *Church Times* order too, doing his best to defend the Church Establishment, and this is his reward! It is suggested that he may "utilise the action of the Liberation Society"! We have not, however, yet heard that he has opened any communications with the executive committee of that society.

When Prince Albert died, some rather offensive remarks concerning him were made in one or two very High-Church journals. These were of the same stamp as those which are now appearing with respect to Her Majesty the Queen. High-Churchism knows of no toleration, and Her Majesty, as well as others, is expected to submit to its dictation. Thus we find the following in the *Church Times* :—

We copy the following from that column in the *Morning Post* of Monday which is headed, "Fashionable World":—"The Court at Balmoral.—On Sunday the usual half-yearly service of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed in Crathie Church. Her Majesty, the Princess Beatrice, and the ladies and gentlemen attending the Court were present. In the forenoon the Rev. A. Campbell, minister of the parish, preached an instructive sermon from the words in Isaiah—'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters.' At the close of the discourse Her Majesty, the Princess Beatrice, and the lady in waiting, left the royal pew and entered that of the Rev. Mr. Campbell, where they partook of the communion. The Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Morning-side, Edinburgh, formerly minister of Crathie, served the table. After suitably addressing the communicants, the Rev. Dr. Taylor handed the bread and wine to Her Majesty, and these were in turn handed to the Princess Beatrice, the lady-in-waiting, and Mrs. Campbell, by Dr. Robertson, elder. The silver communion service presented to the parish of Crathie by Her Majesty was used on the occasion. After the table had been dismissed by the doctor, the Queen and party left the church and drove to Balmoral." *Fidei defensor!*

This is not an isolated expression; we have met the same sort of thing before. We have first been told that the Queen belongs to the Broad Church, and next that she is a Presbyterian. For ourselves we are not so concerned as others in such a question; it suffices that the Queen is a godly woman. This does not content our High-Church friends. We have quoted one illustration. We now quote another from a pamphlet edited by Dr. Littledale, entitled, "The Church of England in Presence of Official Anglicanism, Evangelicalism, Ritualism, and the Church of Rome. By Gervase." This is the quotation :—

With the profoundest respect for the domestic virtues of that great lady, we must record our disapprobation of the unhappy course she has taken in court matters. She is styled Defender of the Faith. We should like to know what faith she has ever defended. She is officially the supreme governor in temporal of the English Church; how is the fulfilment of an office of that nature compatible with taking the Communion in the established religion of Scotland, which is historically pledged to a covenant for the extirpation of that very prelacy of which the sovereign is the representative?

Is it not quite possible that such writing may drive even the Sovereign of this country to demand personal freedom of communion?

It will have been noticed that several suggestions have recently been made by Churchmen in favour of an amendment of the Education Act in the direction of further concessions to the Church. The most specific suggestion has been that the Cowper-Temple Clause should be abolished—that clause which enacts that no distinctive religious teaching should be taught in any of the board schools. It is pretty certain that a movement will be made in this direction, and Lord Sandon, we daresay, would not discourage it. The National Society now commits itself wholly to such a policy, and formally demands the repeal of the Cowper-Temple clause. Some "League" and Nonconformist Associations," which were started, in a moment of enthusiasm, for the reform of our educational system, have not hitherto succeeded in doing much, but it would be well for them now to turn their attention to this subject. We are glad to see that the *Record* pronounces against the proposed policy. It says that "the National Society and its treasurer, Canon Gregory, may indulge the fond conceit that, because we have a Conservative Government, all kinds of religious and ecclesiastical questions which have been legislated upon may be reopened, and their policy reversed. We question, however, whether in the case of this particular clause, to go no further, they could find half-a-dozen members of the House of Commons ready to adopt their proposal, and seriously ask its repeal. This is just one of the occasions when it is wise to act on the familiar principle of 'letting well alone.'" Nevertheless action may be needed, and we must be prepared for it.

Bishop Ellicott's charge has scarcely had a good word. Trimmers, or apparent trimmers, are seldom favourites, but it does not often fall to the lot of such a man to have judgment passed upon him at once. This, however, has been the lot of the

Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. The *Guardian* writes of the "lame stories," of the "oblique dexterity" of the bishop, and exposes his ignorance of the Church doctrine of Sacerdotalism. The *Guardian*, however, does not indulge in invective but this is the style of the *Church Review* :—

For our parts, among episcopalian delinquencies, we do not think we have yet come athwart anything more abjectly humiliating. We doubt whether Dr. Ellicott was fully and seriously aware of the nature of what he was saying. He appears to have treated the serious subjects connected with his "profession" as a joke, the realities being his dignity and right to thrust what we have to call his puerilities upon the clergy of a diocese. Poor Dr. Ellicott, if he really cared anything about it, might have been expected to possess sufficient tact to see that every word he utters against "sacerdotalism" is a spoke in his own Erastian wheel. He could have taken no other course so effectual to band together the High Church party and the Ritualists against the projects of himself and his Parliamentary instructors. Dr. Ellicott indeed seems willing to take instruction from any quarter, providing it be on the side opposite to that spiritual entity called the Church of God.

And,—

The serene height which Bishop Ellicott affects to be sitting on quite amuses us. He seems to be looking down upon a troubled sea, not aware that he himself is sailing in the craziest cockboat of them all. Whom does he think the Liberationists will show mercy on; and when the struggle comes, what respect will be going about for the cowards who in the weighty matters of God's service counselled the indicators of God's honour to study the mind of the age?

We take the following significant editorial paragraph, regarding the Episcopalian Church in the United States, from the *Church Times* :—

In 1830 the number of dioceses in the United States was but a dozen; now it is forty-one, besides nine missionary bishoprics; and arrangements are in progress for immediately dividing three of the existing sees. The number of clergy now exceeds three thousand, and each represents a revenue of nearly 500*l.* a-year, and a body not far short of ninety communicants. We fear that our statistics at home will show nothing like so favourable a result. We doubt, for instance, whether our ecclesiastical revenues of every description, voluntary and arising from endowments, would reach so large a sum as ten millions sterling, which is what it ought to be to make the Church of England proportionally as rich as the Church of the United States—in other words, with our ancient endowments we are not so well off as our American brethren are without them. What is more, the rate at which they are making progress is more rapid than our own.

Of course.

MR. GLADSTONE ON THE VATICAN DECREES AND CIVIL ALLEGIANCE.

Mr. Murray has published a new pamphlet by Mr. Gladstone in reply to friends who have taken exception to some of his remarks on the present position of Roman Catholicism in his recent paper in the *Contemporary Review*.

We have commented on the pamphlet elsewhere, but the views put forth on such a subject by so illustrious a statesman require some further notice, though we are sorry that our space this week is so limited. We avail ourselves of the summary given in the *Daily News*. The exposition is addressed "to such of my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects as may kindly give me hearing." It will be remembered that in the article on Ritualism, published in the *Contemporary Review*, the following striking passage occurred. Speaking of the question whether a handful of the clergy are or are not engaged in an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanise the Church and people of England, Mr. Gladstone said :—

At no time since the bloody reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible. But if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth: when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith; when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history.

These words, Mr. Gladstone says, were not addressed to Roman Catholics, or he would have striven to avoid the seeming roughness of some of the expressions. More than one friend "among those who have been led to join the Roman Catholic communion" has made the passage a subject of expostulation. Mr. Gladstone, therefore, expostulates in turn. These assertions coming from a layman who has spent the best part of his life in politics are not aggressive, but defensive; and it is not the abettors of the Papal Chair, nor anyone who writes from a Papal point of view, that has a right to remonstrate with the world.

But it is the world at large, on the contrary, that has the fullest right to remonstrate, first with His Holiness, secondly with those who share his proceedings, thirdly even with such as passively allow and accept them.

Mr. Gladstone desires it before all things to be understood that, in animadverting on the conduct of the Papal Chair and its advisers and abettors, he desires to eschew not only religious bigotry but also theological controversy. It is the conduct of

* "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance: a Political Argument and Expostulation." By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. (London: John Murray.)

the authorities of their Church which has exposed quiet-minded Roman Catholics to the annoyance caused by the perpetual criticism of their religion in merely political discussion. Other Churches make no religious claim to temporal possessions or advantages, and are therefore never in collision with the State. But

The Rome of the Middle Ages claimed universal monarchy. The modern Church of Rome has abandoned nothing, retracted nothing. Is that all? Far from it. By condemning (as will be seen) those who, like Bishop Doyle in 1826, charge the Medieval Popes with aggression, she unconditionally, even if covertly, maintains what the Medieval Popes maintained. But even this is not the worst. The worst by far is that whereas, in the national churches and communities of the Middle Ages, there was a brisk, vigorous, and constant opposition to these outrageous claims, an opposition which stoutly asserted its own orthodoxy, which always caused itself to be respected, and which even sometimes gained the upper hand, now, in this nineteenth century of ours, and while it is growing old, this same opposition has been put out of court, and judicially extinguished within the Papal Church, by the recent decrees of the Vatican. And it is impossible for persons accepting those decrees justly to complain, when such documents are subjected in good faith to a strict examination as respects their compatibility with civil rights and the obedience of subjects.

Mr. Gladstone then divides the passage in the *Contemporary Review* into four propositions, of which the first and fourth are that Rome has substituted for the boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith, and that she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history. Passing quickly over these points as belonging to the theological domain, he merely seeks to prove the fact they state, and justify the opinion they express. The second proposition—that Rome has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused—he also discusses in half-a-dozen pages, passing on to the third proposition, which is the main object of the pamphlet. This proposition is as follows :—

That no one can now become her (Rome's) convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.

Mr. Gladstone discusses this proposition at great length, contrasting the declarations made by Irish bishops before committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons in 1824-5; as well as decrees of councils and declarations of great ecclesiastical authorities in earlier and later times with the new claims set up in 1870, and clearly showing how Roman Catholic authorities deprecated in those days the very doctrines of allegiance which are strongly asserted now. Mr. Gladstone thereupon says that, in the absence of explicit assurances to the contrary, we should appear to be led, nay, driven, by just reasoning upon this documentary evidence to the conclusions :—

1. That the Pope, authorised by his council, claims for himself the domain (a) of faith, (b) of morals, (c) of all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church. 2. That he in like manner claims the power of determining the limits of those domains. 3. That he does not sever them, by any acknowledged or intelligible line, from the domains of civil duty and allegiance. 4. That he, therefore, claims, and claims from the month of July, 1870, onwards with plenary authority, from every convert and member of his Church, that he shall "place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another": that other being himself.

He then asks whether, being true, his propositions are material. The claims have been made, they are being enforced in the present day with unusual and remarkable persistency. Mr. Gladstone continues :—

It must be for some political object, of a very tangible kind, that the risks of so daring a raid upon the civil sphere have been deliberately run. A daring raid it is. For it is most evident that the very assertion of principles which establish an exemption from allegiance, or which impair its completeness, goes, in many other countries of Europe, far more directly than with us, to the creation of political strife, and to dangers of the most material and tangible kind. The struggle now proceeding in Germany at once occurs to the mind as a palmary instance. I am not competent to give any opinion upon the particulars of that struggle. The institutions of Germany, and the relative estimate of State power and individual freedom, are materially different from ours. But I must say as much as this. Firstly, it is not Prussia alone that is touched; elsewhere, too, the bone lies ready, though the contention may be delayed. In other States, in Austria particularly, there are recent laws in force, raising much the same issues as the Falk laws have raised. But the Roman Court possesses in perfection one art, the art of waiting; and it is her wise maxim to fight but one enemy at a time. Secondly, if I have truly represented the claims promulgated from the Vatican, it is difficult to deny that those claims, and the power which has made them, are primarily responsible for the pains and perils, whatever they may be, of the present conflict between German and Roman enactments. And that which was once truly said of France may now also be said with not less truth of Germany—when Germany is disquieted, Europe cannot be at rest.

Mr. Gladstone then proceeds to ask—were the propositions proper to be set forth by the present writer, which he states to be the shortest and least significant portion of the inquiry, but which the public will probably regard with the greatest interest. He says :—

For thirty years, and in a great variety of circumstances, in office and as an independent member of Parliament, in majorities and in small minorities, and during the larger portion of the time as the representative of a great constituency, mainly clerical, I have, with others, laboured to maintain and extend the civil rights of my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. The

Liberal party of this country, with which I have been commonly associated, has suffered, and sometimes suffered heavily, in public favour and influence, from the belief that it was too ardent in the pursuit of that policy; while at the same time it has always been in the worst odour with the Court of Rome, in consequence of its (I hope) unalterable attachment to Italian liberty and independence. I have sometimes been the spokesman of that party in recommendations which have tended to foster in fact the imputation I have mentioned, though not to warrant it as a matter of reason. But it has existed in fact. So that while (as I think) general justice to society required that those things which I have now set forth should be written, special justice, as towards the party to which I am loyally attached, and which I may have had a share in thus placing at a disadvantage before our countrymen, made it, to say the least, becoming that I should not shrink from writing them.

Mr. Gladstone then proceeds to justify the course taken in the educational matters to give Ireland all that he thinks she had a right to demand in matters of conscience and civil equality. The Land Act and the Church Act left only one point to be dealt with, that of the higher education. In this matter Mr. Gladstone says:—

I consider that the Liberal majority in the House of Commons, and the Government to which I had the honour and satisfaction to belong, formally tendered payment in full of this portion of the debt by the Irish University Bill of February, 1873. Some indeed think that it was overpaid; a question into which this is manifestly not the place to enter. But a Roman Catholic prelate of Ireland thought fit to procure the rejection of that measure, by the direct influence which they exercised over a certain number of Irish members of Parliament, and by the temptation which they thus offered—the bid, in effect, which (to use a homely phrase) they made, to attract the support of the Tory Opposition. Their efforts were crowned with a complete success. From that time forward I have felt that the situation was changed, and that important matters would have to be cleared by suitable explanations. The debt of Ireland has been paid; a debt to the country at large had still to be disposed of, and this had come to be the duty of the hour. So long, indeed, as I continued to be Prime Minister, I should not have considered a broad political discussion on a general question suitable to proceed from me; while neither I nor (I am certain) my colleagues would have been disposed to run the risk of stirring popular passions by a vulgar and unexplained appeal. But every difficulty, arising from the necessary limitations of an official position, has now been removed.

Mr. Gladstone then discusses the Home Policy of the Future. He thinks that, though it is to be regretted that so many converts have been made of high social position, and that "if the Pope does not control more souls among us, he certainly controls more acres," still the severance of a certain number of lords of the soil from those who till it can be borne. He cannot, indeed, any longer say that there is nothing in a Roman Catholic's creed to impeach his full civil title—that ground is cut from under his feet. But still, so far as he is concerned, he will be guided hereafter, as hitherto, by the rule of

Maintaining equal civil rights irrespectively of religious differences; and shall resist all attempts to exclude the members of the Roman Church from the benefit of that rule. Indeed I may say that I have already given conclusive indications of this view, by supporting in Parliament, as a Minister, since 1870, the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, for what I think ample reasons. Not only because the time has not yet come when we can assume the consequences of the revolutionary measures of 1870 to have been thoroughly weighed and digested by all capable men in the Roman Communion. Not only because so great a numerical proportion are, as I have before observed, necessarily incapable of mastering and forming their personal judgment upon the case. Quite irrespectively even of these considerations, I hold that our onward even course should not be changed by follies, the consequences of which, if the worst comes to the worst, this country will have alike the power and, in case of need, the will to control. The State will, I trust, be ever careful to leave the domain of religious conscience free, and yet to keep it to its own domain, and to allow neither private caprice nor, above all, foreign arrogance to dictate to it in the discharge of its proper office. "England expects every man to do his duty"; and none can be so well prepared under all circumstances to exact its performance as that Liberal party, which has done the work of justice alike for Nonconformists and for Papal dissidents, and whose members have so often, for the sake of that work, hazarded their credit with the markedly Protestant constituencies of the country. Strong the State of the United Kingdom has always been in material strength; and its moral panoply is now, we may hope, pretty complete. It is not then for the dignity of the Crown and people of the United Kingdom to be diverted from a path which they have deliberately chosen, and which it does not rest with all the myrmidons of the Apostolic Chamber either openly to obstruct or secretly to undermine. It is rightfully to be expected, it is greatly to be desired, that the Roman Catholics of this country should do in the nineteenth century what their forefathers of England, except a handful of omisaries, did in the sixteenth, where they were marshalled in resistance to the Armada, and in the seventeenth, when, in despite of the Papal chair, they sat in the House of Lords under the oath of allegiance. That which we are entitled to desire, we are entitled also to expect: indeed, to say we did not expect it, would, in my judgment, be the true way of conveying an "insult" to those concerned. In this expectation we may be partially disappointed. Should those to whom I appeal thus unhappily come to bear witness in their own persons to the decay of sound, manly, true life in their Church, it will be their loss more than ours. The inhabitants of these islands, as a whole, are stable, though sometimes credulous and excitable; resolute, though sometimes boastful; and a strongheaded and sound-hearted race will not be hindered, either by latent or by avowed dissents, due to the foreign influence of a

caste, from the accomplishment of its mission in the world.

Archbishop Manning has written a letter with the object of refuting the argument of Mr. Gladstone's new work, that Vatican decrees have effected such a change in the relations of Catholics to the civil power that it is no longer possible for Romanists to render an undivided civil allegiance. Dr. Manning maintains that such allegiance is divided only in the sense in which that of all men who believe in God and are governed by conscience is limited. He adds:—"In this sense, and in no other, can it be said with truth that the civil allegiance of Catholics is divided. The civil allegiance of every Christian man in England is limited by conscience and the law of God, and the civil allegiance of Catholics is limited neither less nor more. The public peace of the British Empire has been consolidated in the last half-century by the elimination of religious conflicts and inequalities from our laws. The Empire of Germany might have been equally peaceful and stable if its statesmen had not been tempted in an evil hour to rake up the old fires of religious disunion. The hand of one man more than any other threw this torch of discord into the German Empire. The history of Germany will record the name of Doctor Ignatius Von Döllinger as the author of this national evil. I lament not only to read the name but to trace the arguments of Dr. Von Döllinger in the pamphlet before me. May God preserve these kingdoms from the public and private calamities which are visibly impending over Germany! The author of the pamphlet, in his first line, assures us that his 'purpose is not polemical but pacific.' I am sorry that so good an intention should have so widely erred in the selection of the means."

Lord Acton also has taken the field, and addressed "a preliminary reply" to Mr. Gladstone himself. He thinks that the right hon. gentleman has overlooked some points which may most fitly be discussed "by those who are least responsible." As one of these he proceeds to argue that the position of the Pope in regard to the civil allegiance is in no way altered by the last Vatican decrees. The claims now advanced were advanced centuries ago, and yet Parliament abolished the Catholic oath, the reason being that whatever might appear to be the Catholic faith, the loyalty of individual Catholics was trusted. "I think you will admit," Lord Acton says, "that your Catholic countrymen cannot fairly be called to account for every particle of a system which has never come before them in its integrity, or for opinions whose existence among divines they would be exceedingly reluctant to believe." "As far as decrees, censures, and persecution could commit the Court of Rome, it was committed to the denial of the Copernican system. Nevertheless the history of astronomy shows a whole catena of distinguished Jesuits; and, a century ago, a Spaniard who thought himself bound to adopt the Ptolemaic theory was laughed at by the Roman divines." Mr. Gladstone thinks that English Catholics ought to be compelled to demonstrate one of two things—that the Pope cannot, by virtue of powers asserted by the late Council, make a claim which he was perfectly able to make by virtue of powers asserted for him before; or that he would be resisted if he did. The first, Lord Acton says, is superfluous. The second is not capable of receiving a written demonstration. "Therefore, neither of the alternatives you propose to the Catholics of this country opens to us a way of escaping from the reproach we have incurred. Whether there is more truth in your misgivings or in my confidence the event will show, I hope, at no distant time."

The Irish papers are, as usual, forward in their criticism on the pamphlet. The *Dublin Morning Mail* treats it as a bid for office, and heads its article, "Bearing up for the Port Protestant." The *Daily Express* says:—"Saul amongst the prophets was a less surprise than Mr. Gladstone amongst the defenders of Protestant freedom against the assaults of the Ultramontanes. The battle is only begun." The *Irish Times* says:—"This latest pronouncement of a man once more popular in Ireland than any English Premier that preceded him will scarcely leave him a friend in the country, from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway."

STATE CHURCH QUESTIONS.

Earl Nelson, Mr. Beresford-Hope, M.P., and Dr. Irons have addressed a letter to the Convocations in reference to a revision of the Prayer-book, urging the members to lay aside all minor differences of opinion, and to combine in defence of its integrity. The letter also recommends them to sign the petition recently agreed upon at a meeting of Churchmen at Brighton.

A meeting of the Council of the Association for Promoting the Reform of Convocation was held on Thursday, Nov. 5, in King's College Library—Lord Lyttelton in the chair—at which it was resolved to invite the leading members of the representative Church Society of either school to assist at a public meeting expected to be held in the month of December in the metropolis to advocate the right of the laity to some representation in the Church's Councils, in order that the time and attention of Parliament may not be needlessly pre-occupied with the detailed consideration of most Church questions, the preparatory hard work having been effected by a Church Synod. To these conclusions the nation and Parliament would be likely to attach full weight. The list of bishops

who are already patrons and vice-presidents of the association was increased by the unanimous election to that office of the Lord Bishop of Exeter and Norwich.

Dr. Pusey has been asked by Archdeacon Allen to utter "some words," "recommending at this time that nothing may be done to alter the rubrics." In his reply, which is dated Oxford, November 2, Dr. Pusey says:—"Things are far too confused, and minds too excited, for me to know what words do good or harm. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol says that the tension is increasing. I agree with you in wishing no change to be made, if the law courts will but allow freedom where congregations and clergy are of one mind. But controversy has been so fierce and is so fierce; things indifferent in themselves have been so made the symbols of doctrine by those who deny that doctrine, that persons fear lest, in giving up those outward things, they should seem to give up doctrine, such as general councils at least involved. I hope this new court may be fair. Hitherto the courts have declared alike against positive truth and against practice which symbolised positive truth. Their only instinct has been in favour of laxity." Dr. Pusey adds:—"The Prayer-book is our common heritage and bond of union. If God preserves us this unchanged, we may by His mercy yet weather the storm."

At a meeting of the ruridecanal chapter of Andover North, a petition to Convocation was adopted, with one dissentient, praying—1. That the integrity of the existing Prayer-book may be maintained. 2. That large liberty in ceremonial matters, within specified limits, may be allowed to different congregations. 3. That changes in ceremonial may not be introduced against the wish of congregations. 4. That pending a legal decision by a full court of appeal, and after argument as to the meaning of the ornaments rubric, and the rubric preceding the prayer of consecration, Convocation do delay dealing with ceremonial.

CHURCH AND STATE ON THE CONTINENT.

The German Emperor has made an important concession to the Old Catholics. By an Order in Council he has authorised the Minister of Public Worship to permit the formation of Old Catholic parishes and communions on his own responsibility, without reference to the Emperor himself. Hitherto a royal order has been indispensable in every single case.

Bishop Martin, of Paderborn, has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment for his last pastoral. Preparations are making for his deposition by the Ecclesiastical Court. The Pope has presented the bishop with a gold medal, accompanied by a very complimentary letter, in which he expresses high recognition of the bishop's valuable services to the Church in its present crisis.

The arrest of Father Schneider in his church at Trèves is thus justified by the Berlin correspondent of the *Times*:—"The Catholic clergy, we are told, have long endeavoured to make the lower classes believe that a priest need only place himself before the altar to attain a sanctity which raised him above the law. It had thus become absolutely necessary to supply practical proof of the futility of this assertion." The same correspondent is responsible for the statement that the Ultramontane party in the German Parliament have determined to vote against the contemplated increase of the army by the Landsturm.

At Dippertz, a small place near Fulda, Father Helfrich, an expelled priest, who had returned to his parish, has been arrested in the church the moment the service was over. There was no attempt at resistance. The father was not lodged in prison, but was sent back to the neighbouring county whence he had come.

The delegates of forty-two French Protestant Consistories are now assembled at Paris to consult on the situation in which the Liberal Protestants are placed by the Minister of Public Instruction and Worship. They refuse to proceed to new elections ordered by the minister who annulled the late elections. They have resolved to issue a manifesto to the Liberal members of the Christian Reformed Churches in France, affirming "the rights of Christian conscience," and declaring that "they want no other master but Jesus Christ, and recognise in no human power, synod, or council, the right of separating them from the Communion of Christ." They have resolved also to send a deputation to the minister to express their grievances and demand redress. The question is, what Government can do in face of this opposition. The point of law may be doubtful, but custom makes the assent of a congregation necessary for any dismissal of its officers or clergy.

The prosecution of Mr. Mackonochie, the vicar of St. Alban's, Holborn, for Ritualistic practices, is to be taken in the Court of Arches on the 26th instant.

The statement that there is to be shortly held a congress of English Roman Catholics, "in order to uphold the dogma of the Pope's infallibility, the right of the Sovereign Pontiff to temporal as well as spiritual power, and to proclaim to all Christians that it is their bounden duty to return to their allegiance to the Holy Father," is authoritatively denied.

THE TITLE "REV."—It is stated that some of the Dissenting ministers of Sheffield, following the example of Mr. Dale and the late Mr. Vince, of

Birmingham, intend to abandon the use of the title "Rev."

PATRONAGE ACT IN SCOTLAND.—The interim regulations for the election and appointment of ministers in the Established Church of Scotland, which it is proposed the Commission of Assembly shall be asked to sanction at its meeting on the 18th current, have been made public. The special feature is that adherents are defined as "persons of full age who have shown by their attendance at the particular church that they desire to be considered as connected with it, and have claimed to be enrolled as members of the congregation," and against whose moral character nothing is known that would unfit them for becoming communicants—that on a vacancy taking place, a committee of nomination is to be appointed by the electors, which may include persons outside their own number—that their nominee must obtain the approval of a majority at the congregational meeting to which they report—and that, if satisfied, the Presbytery shall then moderate in a call, and take other steps towards a settlement in the usual course, the interference of law agents being forbidden throughout.

THE CLAIMS OF ULTRAMONTANISM.—There was a meeting at Archbishop Manning's house on Thursday to listen to his inaugural address to the Roman Catholic Academies in reference to the future policy of the Catholic world. In the course of his observations he said that within the last twenty-four hours it had been intimated to him that the Catholic world was threatened with a controversy on the whole of the decrees of the Vatican Council. From this and other matters that had come to his knowledge, he could see that they were on the very eve of one of the mightiest controversies the religious world had ever seen. If they would only prepare themselves he did not fear for the decrees of the Vatican Council or for the Vatican itself. But they must have no half-hearted measures. They must have no half-fearful, half-hearted assertions of the Sovereign Pontiff's claims. They must not fear to declare to England, and to the world through the free press of England, the Sovereign Pontiff's claim to infallibility, his right to temporal power, and the duty of the nations of the earth to return to their allegiance to him.

THE "DOMINICAL" CONTROVERSY AT EXETER is not yet laid. Another seizure was made on Thursday, but the attempt at a sale was abortive, owing to the threats of the crowd pointing to the neighbouring millstream. Sir Edward Watkin, M.P., has addressed a letter of remonstrance to the Rev. J. B. Strother, fortified with the offer "to pay his 'dominical' charges against all Nonconformists of his parish for a year, if he will consent to withdraw all proceedings against every one until the opinion of Parliament can be taken." In the reply, declining the offer, Mr. Strother says:—"You rejoice in calling yourself a 'Protestant,' though you know—or presuming to teach me you ought to have known—that the Church of England has deliberately rejected that name. With regard, however, to the matter at issue, I beg to say that if you had at Northendon a tenant, an English Churchman, who was a man of Catholic 'views of doctrine and ritual,' and if he were to refuse to pay his rent, because you in his estimation, right or wrong, were a Protestant and a heretic, so far from feeling any 'indignation' against you for 'distressing' on his goods, I should feel ashamed of your cowardice and folly, if you were to listen to his misleading and disingenuous plea of 'conscience,' and were to suffer him to fill his pockets at the expense of yours. . . . You can, if you please, instead of making an offer, which on the face of it is illusory, adopt the simple course of endowing the living of St. Mary Steps to the extent of 54*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* per annum, which at thirty years' purchase would cost you 1,631*l.*"

Religious and Denominational News.

NOTTINGHAM CONGREGATIONAL INSTITUTE.

The annual meeting of this institution has recently been held in the Lecture Hall, Forest-road, Nottingham. There was a very numerous attendance, and the chair was taken by Mr. A. Wells. After the proceedings had been opened by the chairman,

The Rev. J. B. Paton submitted a report of the previous session, from which it appeared that, during the last year, twenty-one men had left the institution, five of them going to other colleges, and sixteen to spheres of labour among the great industrial masses of population in the North, and in the agricultural districts. In the agricultural districts there was greater need than ever of earnest, capable men to minister to their free evangelical churches, because of the growth of a tyrannous Ritualism which sought by all means to destroy the spiritual faith of the Church of Christ. There had been, in the classes, great diligence on the part of students, as was shown by the examinations. The students had conducted work in twenty-three missions—six in the town, and the rest in the four counties of Nottingham, Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester. To these missions five hours each day were devoted, every Sunday and every Tuesday. In conclusion Mr. Paton urged upon the churches, by prayer and sympathy, to contribute to the spiritual training of the men in the institute, since on that training the real usefulness of these men in their ministry depended.

The Rev. C. S. Slater then spoke at some length on the subject of "Impressions of the Huddersfield meetings," describing the various characteristics of the recent session of the Congregational Union, the freedom of speech combined with word, the symptoms of a growing disposition to united action, and the real unity of their free churches. The Rev. W. Crosbie, M.A., of Derby, spoke of the recent conference in that town for promoting a religious revival in their churches. He said that the measure of the church's usefulness was just the measure of her holiness. He urged the desirability of a three-fold union of the evangelical churches—a union for prayer, a union for common Christian work, and a union for testimony. He congratulated the friends of the institute on the very prosperous state in which it was at the present time, hoping that the spiritual strength of the institute would be brought to bear on those strongholds of sin which were so abundant. (Applause.)

The Rev. C. Clemance, who followed, spoke on the "Modern controversy between the Roman Church and the Churches of Christ," which he dealt with in a masterly and exhaustive style, showing with great force the portentous development of Romanism in recent times. Their controversy as churches with the Papal system was:—(1.) It puts one man where there is no place for any man. So long as the Pope was content with the claim Vicar of Christ—unwarranted as it was, yet it was, comparatively speaking, moderate as compared with that which is now claimed for him,—he was bishop of the universal church, the chief pastor, and was, under certain circumstances, the mouthpiece of the Church, and the weight of his words was limited by the measure of authority for uttering them granted by the Church. But now it is so no longer. He is *vox Dei*—an incarnation of God. May be, this simplifies the controversy: it makes it easier to point out Rome's weakness and blasphemy. But most assuredly it is enough to rouse all that is in us of manly indignation; and anxious as we are to go to the fullest extent in paying right to those who differ from us, yet such a system forfeits claim to respect. (2.) It is a doctrine which is theoretically the destruction of the Church. By the definition of an Ultramontane, the Pope may say, "The Church—it is myself."

They have now reached, in the Roman Church, the apotheosis of man. Mr. Clemance went on, elaborately, to notice the effect of the dogma of infallibility, observing that Rome contended for power in its wrong place—over the people—instead of in them. He pointed out that their duty was to witness for the true doctrine in every case, and before concluding took occasion to allude to the importance of teaching the young. The address was cordially applauded.

The Rev. G. R. Thornton, M.A. (vicar of St. Nicholas), next spoke on the subject of "Lessons from the Broadlands and Oxford meetings for the Churches of Christ in this town," and with much earnestness he impressed the importance of Christian unity, and of Christian influences in the work of evangelisation.

The proceedings were then brought to a termination, prayer being offered by the Rev. C. S. Slater.

The Rev. Dr. Punshon, president of the Wesleyan Conference, is at present confined to his bed by a serious attack of illness, from which he has been suffering during the past week, and although the more dangerous symptoms have abated, he was too ill on Sunday to undertake his usual Sunday evening's ministrations at his chapel in Warwick-gardens, Kensington.

AGRICULTURAL HALL SERVICES.—On Sunday afternoon the East London Jubilee Band gave a service of Sacred Song at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, under the presidency of the Rev. J. Thain Davidson. So great was the demand for admission that after the hall was filled to overflowing hundreds had to be turned away disappointed. At the evening service Dr. Bernardo, who is so closely associated with mission work in the East of London conducted the proceedings, and gave an able and earnest address on "The Cities of Refuge."

SUTTON, SURREY.—On Sunday week the Rev. J. M. Bergin resumed his labours in the new Baptist Chapel in this place, after an absence of eleven months (with the exception of a few Sundays in the spring), caused by long and severe illness. During the entire period the church has continued its minister's stipend and paid for all supplies for the pulpit, besides affording him liberal assistance towards meeting the heavy expenses entailed by Mr. Bergin's lengthened illness. The church likewise most considerably limits its demands upon its minister to one service a Sunday for the next three months.

FREE METHODISTS AT CHEW MEONA.—The opening service of the New Free Methodist Chapel were held on Tuesday, when a large number of friends from Bristol, Radstock, and surrounding places, as well as from the immediate neighbourhood, assembled at three o'clock in the chapel, which was well filled. A most appropriate discourse was delivered by the Rev. E. D. Green, of the Bristol South Circuit, and the collection at the close realised 10*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* After the service upwards of 200 partook of a capital tea in the old chapel. In the evening a public meeting was held, when the chapel and the vestry were filled to overflowing. W. Terrell, Esq., J.P., presided. A statement was read showing the estimated cost of the building to be 580*l.*, and subscriptions had been received or promised for 300*l.* This is exclusive of the site, which was given by J.

H. Braikenridge, Esq. Hope Chapel is the designation of the building. Sittings were provided for 150 worshippers.

DORSET ASSOCIATION.—The autumnal meetings of the Dorset Association of Congregational Churches were held at Shaftesbury, on Wednesday, Nov. 4. At 9.30 a.m. a public prayer-meeting was held, followed by the general business meeting, at which the subject of councils of reference was brought forward. Draft resolutions, prepared in accordance with the instruction of the annual meeting, were presented by the secretary, and after a lengthened conversation it was resolved to have these resolutions printed and circulated among the members of the association, with a view to their adoption if approved at the annual meeting next spring. The chief difference of opinion was with respect to imposing the penalty of losing membership with the association, upon either of the parties in difference, in the event of their refusing to abide by the decision of the referees. It was thought by the majority of those present that as the decision would have been voluntarily sought, and an engagement have been given to accept their decision, a case, if it should arise, of refusal to act on that decision, would demand a penalty sufficient to mark the feeling of the association with respect to it. The cordial thanks of the association were presented to the Rev. C. T. Plank and the friends at Shaftesbury for their hospitality. After the dinner, served in the Lecture Hall at 1.30, stirring speeches were given by the Revs. — Cooper (Wesleyan), B. Gray, B.A., J. Keynes, T. Neaves, and C. T. Plank, on political and ecclesiastical topics. An open conference followed upon "Helps and Hindrances to Evangelistic Work," with especial reference to the county of Dorset. The Revs. S. Giblett and T. Toy read papers, and the succeeding debate was well sustained. Among various suggestions was one that the children of the Sunday-schools should be encouraged to aid home missions on the plan found so successful by the foreign societies. Pointed allusions were also made to the notorious evils resulting from needless rivalries between Free Churches in villages and small towns. At seven o'clock a public meeting was held in the Congregational Church. After reading the Scriptures and prayer by the Rev. W. Denham, the Rev. F. Beckley, of Sherborne (chairman for the year), gave an earnest practical address on "Piety in the Home." The secretary, the Rev. B. Gray, explained the work of the association, and urged its claims on the churches. Then brief addresses were delivered by the Revs. W. Lewis, of Weymouth, on Christian fellowship; J. G. Tolley, of Parkstone, on Christian work; and J. Keynes, of Wimborne, on Christian fidelity. The meetings were very fairly attended.

Correspondence.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.—PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—It was my intention to make a few statements and to offer a few practical suggestions on the organisation of the friends of the Liberation Society at the conference which was held in Manchester on Wednesday last, but the time was so fully occupied that I had not the opportunity of doing so. Will you kindly allow the substance of these suggestions to appear in your next issue?

I think that every large county should have its district council composed of representatives from all the large towns in the county (where the counties are small two or three might unite to form such a council). In every town of 20,000 inhabitants we should have an intelligent working committee, one of its members forming a part of the district council; each committee should have at least one member (call him secretary, agent, or what you will) who can devote a considerable portion of his time to the work. Each of these town committees should make itself responsible for the organisation of the district of which it is the centre. This organisation would include the formation of a local committee or the appointment of an official correspondent in every town, village, and hamlet, in the district, all in constant communication with, and the most important of them being directly represented on, the town committee. The boundaries of the different districts could easily be so arranged by the district council that every part of the county would be included within some of them.

Another duty of this town committee would be to make itself acquainted with the special circumstances and needs of every part of its own district, so as to be able to suggest or to provide the kind of agency best adapted to the requirements of the different places. It would likewise ascertain what the town and district could furnish in the way of agents such as lecturers, speech-makers, collectors, tract distributors, &c., and be able to regulate and superintend them so that every part of the district would be supplied with the amount and kind of agency most needed, and through the medium of the district council the lack in one district might be supplied out of the abundance of another.

These town committees would be prepared to carry out in their different districts the plans and suggestions of the executive in London or of the district council; they would be responsible for making the best possible

use of the educational agencies put within their reach, and for securing united political or electoral action whenever it might be deemed to be necessary.

I am aware this cannot be done all at once, but the formation and in some cases the invigoration of town committees may and ought to be attended to without delay, and the first efforts of these committees ought to be directed to the smaller boroughs. In most of these the Liberation Society has a few friends and supporters, and they need to be stimulated and encouraged in any effort which they may put forth. Those of them who have the courage to avow themselves favourable to the objects which we have in view are often made to feel that they are only a tolerated race. Not only have they to put up with social annoyances and losses in business, but their very lives are often made bitter to them by the persecution to which they are subjected at the hands of the State-favoured portion of the community. In these boroughs and other small agricultural towns the public rooms are nearly altogether in the hands of State-Churchmen, and unfortunately public opinion in those places is not sufficiently strong to deter these men from refusing the loan of these rooms to our friends, though our opponents can and do have them, as often as they like. In many of these places lectures and public meetings are at present out of the question, and the only thing to be done is to get good telling placards on to the walls and plain, stirring leaflets and tracts, into the hands of the people. I know of an instance in which a large cattle-fair was made use of to get Liberation literature into the hands of the agricultural population. Tracts were freely distributed in the morning, and I was told that in the afternoon "Church and State" was the subject of conversation in every public-house in the place.

In all the manufacturing villages we must have local committees formed, public meetings held, and lectures delivered, as well as a free distribution of literature.

It is now more than ever important that the sympathies of the political organisation of our towns and villages should be enlisted in favour of our movement. This has already been accomplished in some places, and may be in many more. Whenever a public Liberation meeting is held, let the committee of the Liberal organisation (club or whatever it may be), be invited to occupy the platform. Let all the Liberal committees in the district be invited to send delegates to all local conferences.

Let the Liberation committees or agents supply clubs, &c., with lectures, papers, and literature, upon the subject, and I am satisfied that very soon the active Liberal politicians of every borough in the kingdom will become not only decided but intelligent Liberationists.

Hoping that you will excuse my trespassing so far upon your valuable space,

I am, yours truly,
E. THOMAS.

Bradford, Nov. 6, 1874.

THE HANTS CONGREGATIONAL UNION AND THE REV. DR. WADDINGTON.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—My attention has been called to the report of the Hants Congregational Union meeting recently given in the *Nonconformist*, containing a vote of censure on myself for interfering in the case of the Church at Winchester. I have only to observe that the censure was unmerited—that the speech of the mover of the resolution was incorrect in its statements, and that the publication of the censure is a gratuitous injustice. I might support this observation by details of the most convincing kind, but of no interest to the public, and that might leave several persons under lasting discredit. I have been assured that the Church at Winchester entertains the most grateful sense of the service it was my privilege quietly to render, without the slightest allusion to the "Council of Reference," and that what they deem my kindness and forbearance will be long remembered. The Hants Congregational Union, if so inclined, can make no reparation for the injury done to me until their next half-yearly meeting. Their *ex parte* proceedings were published in the secular journals before I had the slightest hint of them. Let them stand on record. It has long been my lot "both to labour and suffer reproach"; but if an oppressed Church finds relief, completes its organisation, welcomes the pastor of its choice, and enters into a state of rest from turmoil and distraction, their compensation is more than sufficient for any wilful misrepresentation.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,
JOHN WADDINGTON.

9, Surrey-square, Nov. 7, 1874.

There are 1,200 cases of epidemic fever in Over-Darwen, a town of some 24,000 inhabitants. The reason is abominable filth. Darwen is drained by cesspools; acres of excreta lie uncovered. A Government inspector has been sent down, but he can scarcely get the Local Board, elected to keep down rates, to do anything. According to a more recent report, the number of fever cases is diminishing. The reservoir from which the residents are supplied with water has been cleaned out, and at the bottom a highly offensive deposit of mud, described as a yard in depth, was found.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

CONFERENCE AT MANCHESTER.

(Continued from Supplement.)

Mr. George Howell hoped they would not be afraid of the political aspect of the question. They wanted organisation more than teaching, for there were hundreds of thousands outside the ranks of the Nonconformist churches who believed as earnestly as themselves in the cause of disestablishment and disendowment. When he was a candidate for Aylesbury, an agricultural district, he found the agricultural labourers were with him almost to a man on this question. But he had to contend against Tories and Whigs combined, and a great number of Nonconformists in the middle ranks were somewhat afraid of his candidature. He had had a very long experience of working men, mixing with them in their meetings and in their workshops. They might be surprised to find how this question of disestablishment came up ever and anon in all such meetings. Their question had been, not whether they believed in disestablishment and disendowment, but whether the time had yet come to embrace that as one of the planks in the platform. There had scarcely ever been a question of any political organisation with which he had had to do in which disestablishment and disendowment had not been conceded. Was it ripe now for an organisation to press it to a successful issue? He was not prepared to say that the majority if they were polled would be with them on this question just yet, but he did say that the proportion of numbers would be so great as to startle some of the members of the Liberation Society. Such measures as the county suffrage extension and the re-distribution of seats would more or less help the Liberation movement. (Cheers.)

Mr. Caldwell (Eccles) said that although he had been a member of the society from the commencement, he could not accept the resolution in the sense that he should bind himself in every position to vote for any gentleman simply because he might happen to adopt the Liberation programme. In certain circumstances he would do his best to oppose even one who professed Liberation principles. There were other matters on which a candidate who was in favour of disestablishment might be entirely opposed to his views, and he should not like to be coerced into voting for him under such circumstances. (Laughter and cheers.)

Dr. Stock (Huddersfield) proposed an alteration in the motion—viz., that the question of disestablishment "has already become of paramount importance in the election of Parliamentary representatives." The resolution as it stood meant anything or nothing, and it might mean that the question would not become of paramount importance until the day of the restitution of all things, and he was not prepared to wait so long. (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. Alfred Illingworth submitted that the resolution, as it stood, implied that, in these days when great changes were rapidly taking place, the early period referred to was not very far distant. Their object should not be to lay down at this moment a hard and fast line. They were not in a majority in many places, and those who could not claim to be a majority ought not to take the position of calling upon those who were in greater numbers than themselves to bow to them in every case. Every man was free to act according to his own convictions; but when they proposed to take organised action in the constituencies, they must be sure that they carried with them the feeling of the community. There was a great deal to do in the way of education before they could recommend such a policy as that throughout the whole country.

The Rev. R. Bruce (Huddersfield) appealed to the Rev. Dr. Stock not to press his amendment. The only difficulty in regard to the resolution arose from the terms in which it had been proposed, and if they were to understand it as it was seconded and supported, he saw no difficulty in supporting it. He did not believe in the general principle laid down that gratitude in politics was demoralising. Ingratitude, whether in or out of politics, was more demoralising, and he hoped it would never go out from that conference that they were ungrateful to the Liberal party, or to the Liberal leaders, for what they had done in the past. (Cheers.)

Mr. Reaney said he thought that his remarks were in consonance with the second part of the resolution.

Mr. W. Crossfield, jun. (Liverpool), said that, according to the resolution, they were to press their views upon the constituency, but they were not urged to ask for any pledges of those who sought their suffrages.

The Rev. Dr. Stock then moved his amendment, which Mr. Bevan (Farsley) seconded; the former saying that all he feared was lest they should be misunderstood. There was only a few votes for the amendment, and it was lost.

The Rev. D. Loxton said it would be an improvement to the resolution if they were to leave out the reference to the precedent of the Irish Church. It was a very bad precedent, and he thought the less they referred to it in their official papers the better. (Hear, hear.) He therefore moved as an amendment on the original resolution that the words "already adopted in Ireland" be left out.

The Rev. A. Maclaren concurred in this, and the suggestion having been adopted by the mover and seconder, it was carried, the first part reading—"That in the judgment of this conference the application to England and Wales and to Scotland of the principle of disestablishment must at an early period become of paramount importance," &c. PLANS OF DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT.

Mr. Henry Lee (Manchester) then moved:—

That the conference believes that, to give practical effect to the foregoing resolutions, it is desirable that there should be prepared a statement of the legal changes involved in disestablishment, and of the principles and methods which should be adopted in disendowing the Established Churches. That the executive committee be therefore requested to consider the steps which should be taken for that purpose.

The resolution referred the matter for discussion to the executive committee, and he thought no one in that room would then venture to express an opinion as to how the endowments of the Established Church ought to be dealt with. It was a matter which would require their careful consideration. They were in a period of calm. They, as members of the Liberation Society, might very well sit down and think out the method which should be adopted when they came to urge the principle of disestablishment before the House of Commons. One of the questions put to those who were supporters of disestablishment was this, "What are you going to do with the money?" and they all knew that the enormous property of the Established Church was certainly a difficulty in the way of disestablishment. If they were willing to say, "You may disestablish the Church, and take the money," he believed no objections to disestablishment would be urged by a very large number of persons. But they were not so willing; because they thought that, as a measure of public policy, it was not desirable to entrust to any corporation of men so large a property as that which at present belonged to the Established Church. And as that Church was a National Church, under national control, having all its status given by Parliamentary enactments, it was only proper that the property which should be dealt with by Parliament, and dealt with in such a manner that the interests of the whole nation would be secured, and not the interests of a particular section of the nation. (Cheers.)

SPEECH OF MR. RICHARD, M.P.

Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., who was received with enthusiastic cheering, seconded the resolution. He said it would be in the highest degree indiscreet, and premature, to enter upon any consideration of the details of the method of disestablishment and disendowment referred to in the resolution. It was a difficult and multifarious question, as Mr. Miall happily characterised it, and it would require all the legal knowledge, political wisdom, and statesmanship which the Liberation Society could command. He wished to say, and he was sure he would be interpreting the general sentiment and feeling of that meeting when he said it, that he felt the highest delight at seeing, and hearing, their old and honoured friend, Mr. Miall, on this occasion. (Cheers.) A few months ago some of them felt considerable anxiety at the appearance of what they thought symptoms of impaired health and vigour; but he had stood before them that morning with his mental powers wholly unabated, and his bodily strength, if not quite so vigorous as it once was, was in such a state as to entitle him to hope that he might long continue to be what he had always been—a tried and trusted leader. He had a particular reason for making this allusion to Mr. Miall. There was a class of newspaper writers known as special correspondents—(laughter)—of the provincial press from London, and some of them were clever and accomplished men; but they were very much addicted, especially in the dull season, to invent enormous *canards*, and as this has been a particularly dull season, they had even gone so far as to make so humble an individual as himself the object of one of these *canards*. (Laughter.) Indeed he had seen it stated in their letters repeatedly that Mr. Miall and himself never appeared on the same platform or in the same meeting. (Laughter.) "You may be sure," they said, "that if Mr. Miall is going to be present Mr. Richard won't, and if Mr. Richard is going to be present Mr. Miall is sure to be absent—" the insinuation being, he supposed, that there was some jealousy between his friend Mr. Miall and himself. Now, so preposterously unlike the truth was that allegation that he believed he had never attended a meeting of the Liberation Society in his life without Mr. Miall being there; but he (Mr. Miall) had attended when he (Mr. Richard) was not there, because he had made the question his own by a long life of devoted and disinterested work. If those gentlemen who made these unworthy insinuations only knew on what terms of affectionate brotherhood Mr. Miall and himself had lived for many years—without a cloud in their friendship or a jar of jealousy—he (Mr. Richard) always ready and willing to act as his friend's humble lieutenant, and recognising him as their captain—they would not any more repeat those absurdities. (Cheers.) Mr. Howell had stated that as far as regarded the working men they did not need very much education on this question of disestablishment. Well, they accepted Mr. Howell's testimony with the greatest possible confidence and with the highest gratification; but he still thought that the educational work of this society was not yet at an end; for if the working men were sufficiently educated, the higher and middle classes required a great deal of education. (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.") He supposed Mr. Hopwood and himself thought their members of Parliament were a par-

ticularly intelligent and well-educated class; and yet there were some among them who had not understood hitherto even the rudiments of this question. There was so distinguished a man as the late Attorney-General (Sir H. James)—an exceedingly clever man—who had been making a speech lately to his constituents at Taunton. In that speech he performed the operation of dancing on the slack rope as cleverly and as dexterously as any man he (Mr. Richards) ever saw—saying something plausible and ingenious on both sides of almost every public question, without saying anything positive and decisive on any. In regard to their question, he (Sir H. James) had said that "There were some persons belonging to the Liberal party who desired the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church." And then he said, "There were also those—and their number was not few—who accepted Archdeacon Paley's views that an Established Church could only be supported on the ground of its utility, and that the time for disestablishment should have arrived only when that utility was shown to have ceased." It is an indication of how imperfect this distinguished gentleman's education on this question was, that he had not got beyond Archdeacon Paley. (Laughter.) Now the word utility was one of such vague and elastic significance that they would require to have it very carefully and accurately defined before they accepted its application to the Church of England. He believed Mr. Morley had already by anticipation answered that argument as to the "utility" of the Church of England; but the curious thing was that Sir Henry James went on giving them good advice as Nonconformists. There was plenty of that commodity, and as it cost the givers nothing, they would have a good deal more of it, he had no doubt. (Laughter.) Sir Henry James went on to say what was the policy of the Liberal party for the future, and among other things which he propounded as part of the policy was this one—to promote perfect religious equality. They were perfectly satisfied with the statement as to what was to be the future policy of the Liberal party if those who used the terms only understood them. It was an extraordinary that a man like Sir Henry James—as he had said, an able and accomplished man—something more than a lawyer, and aspiring also to be a statesman, and certainly not lacking in the logical faculty—that he could not see that, to promote and perfect religious equality so long as a Church Establishment existed, was utterly impossible. (Hear, hear.) The very essence of a Church Establishment was religious inequality—(cheers)—for what did it mean if not this: that the State took a particular religious sect or body under its patronage and into its favour, endowed it with enormous national property, bestowed upon its members and upon its ministers privileges and a social status which exalted them above the rest of their fellow-subjects; and it did this, not because they were better citizens, not because they were more loyal subjects of the Crown, not because they discharged their social duties in a more exemplary manner than the rest of the community, but simply because, through the accident of inheritance, they held a particular creed—and, he declared, that was the essence of religious inequality. (Loud cheers.) Even their friend Mr. Forster—his education was not perfect. (Laughter.) He was not going to say anything unkind of Mr. Forster; in fact, he never had said anything unkind of him. On the contrary, as Izaak Walton said of the worm he put on the hook, he had always handled him as tenderly as if he loved him. (Loud laughter.) But he could not but say seriously that no disrespectful language had ever fallen from his lips in regard to Mr. Forster. He said this because an attempt had been made to erect him into a kind of martyr. (Laughter.) The *Times* implied that Mr. Leatham and Mr. Illingworth and himself had been persecuting this worthy man in some extraordinary way. He declared he had never said anything disrespectful of Mr. Forster, and did not intend to do so now. He should not have referred to him at all now that he was absent from the country, were it not that he had taken the opportunity of firing a shot at them right across the Atlantic. (Laughter.) He had been interviewed—(laughter)—by one of those gentlemen connected with the American press who undertook the work of "pumping" or of "milking" distinguished men. He durst say that Mr. Forster, with his Yorkshire shrewdness, was not a very easy subject to be milked; and he went through the operation, or rather he evaded it, with great skill. One of the questions asked him was this: "The religious question has been and is a difficulty in England in connection with schools, is it not?" (Laughter.) Mr. Forster winced away from that topic. He said it was a very large question, that could not be discussed at that time; but still he took the opportunity of firing a shot into their camp through the sides of Mr. Ward Beecher. He said: "I am reminded of what I once read your Mr. Ward Beecher had said about this. He in one of his public addresses substantially said, 'Let the public schools take care of the secular education, and let the Church take care of the religious'—[that, remarked Mr. Richards, is what we have been saying]. (Cheers.) Now that to me is in effect saying that only the priests can teach religion." So that according to Mr. Forster, in his imperfect state of education on this question, the Christian Church meant a corporation of priests. Mr. Beecher's position was that the secular education should be un-

dertaken by the State, and that the Church—the Christian Church—should take care of the religious education; and that what Mr. Forster said, was the same thing as delivering the education of the people into the hands of the priests, as though he thought that the Christian Church was a mere assemblage of priests. Was it not an extraordinary thing that Mr. Forster, who had been brought up amongst the sect who above all others denied the existence of a priesthood of the Christian Church, should have fallen into this extraordinary mistake; and was it not a still more extraordinary thing that he did not see that it was the system which he advocated and promoted that had a tendency, aye, and had the effect, of delivering the education of the people into the hands of the priesthood? (Cheers.) All this showed that the education even of persons in very distinguished positions on this question was not perfect, and that they must go on with their work. At the same time they were preparing by such means as were indicated in the resolution for the ultimate result, they must diligently use the press and all other means in order to diffuse correct notions upon this subject among all classes of the community, beginning with the working classes, although Mr. Howell said they were perhaps more up in this matter than any other class, and going up to the very highest, even to Attorney-Generals and ex-Vice-Presidents of Council. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

THE PLANS OF THE SOCIETY.

Mr. Carvell Williams then made a statement respecting the recent proceedings and the plans of the society. He said that at the Triennial Conference in London in May last the executive committee presented two reports; one relating to the three years which then closed, and the others containing their views of the then position of the disestablishment movement, with special reference to the results of the general election. In that report they submitted to the conference certain proposals which the committee thought desirable to adopt, in order to carry on the agitation on a scale commensurate with its growing importance, and the multiplied opportunities presented to them. The conference approved of those proposals, and referred them back to the committee to carry out, and ever since that time until now the executive committee had been diligently engaged in obeying that instruction. In fact, this summer had been the busiest summer season that they had ever known. To-day they were able to report, not the completion of the work, but what they had hoped the meeting would regard as a fair instalment of it. In Parliamentary phraseology, they reported progress, and asked leave to sit again. The committee had been anxious that, while the society's headquarters must continue to be in London, it should be energised to a greater extent than heretofore by the strength and earnestness existing in favour of the society's object in the provinces. Therefore they suggested to the conference that the executive committee should in future consist of seventy-five instead of sixty members; and that the whole of the increase should be taken from the country. That suggestion was adopted, and they had now a better representative committee than they had ever had before. Then it had been resolved to hold, at certain seasons of the year, special meetings of the committee, and to secure the attendance of country members. It had been further resolved to hold a series of district conferences, and to make arrangements for a strong representation of the committee, so that they might convey information to their supporters and receive information from them. The first of the series of conferences was held in Manchester that day. From the north they would go to the west of England. On the 24th of November there would be a conference held at Plymouth, and on the 25th at Bristol. Then they would come to the north again, and hold a conference at Newcastle on the 8th December, and in the early part of next year they hoped to hold one for the eastern counties and one for the Midland district. (Hear, hear.) The platform had always been one of their most effective instruments, and it had been felt that they ought not to rely to the extent they had been obliged to do for some years past on the valuable aid of some few gentlemen who had placed their services at the disposal of the society. It had been considered that they ought to have at their command the service of at least one gentleman who could devote all his time to lecturing work, and as Mr. Gordon had proved his capacity and earnestness he had been chosen for the work, and for twelve months certainly—it was hoped for longer—he would carry on this work. Ever since his appointment he had been engaged almost every night, and had lectured at many places which had never been visited by any previous lecturer. Another part of their machinery which it was felt required extension was the agency system, and it was resolved to appoint a travelling and organising agent, who should be constantly engaged in visiting the larger towns in the country, meeting local committees, organising the friends of the movement, and arranging for meetings and lectures. From the reports received from places already visited by him, he thought they had obtained the right man for this office in Mr. John Fisher, of Sheffield. There was another branch of the agency system to which even yet greater importance was attached by the committee. It must be admitted that to a large extent this had been a town agitation, but they would have to move the whole country—people in villages as well

as people in towns; and it was now felt that they must carry on this particular kind of educational work, not with a view to money-getting, but with a view to the education of the people. In order to effect this, it had been determined to map out the whole country into comparatively small districts, each district having its resident agent, who would devote a large portion of his time to arranging and delivering lectures, distributing tracts, and taking other steps for the advancement of the cause. This was not a scheme that could be worked out in a month or a year; but they had made a beginning, and every week they hoped would witness decisive progress. Seven local agents had already been appointed, and acting on the principle just named, five of them were located in rural districts. The society had not been satisfied with the position in which they stood in London, and although conscious of the difficulty of the work, they were going to make a serious attempt to grapple with it. Modifying the local agency system, they would divide the metropolitan boroughs into groups, and appoint for each district a thoroughly competent agent, who would give all his time to ascertaining who were their friends; not merely to obtain pecuniary aid from them, but to organise them, with a view to improve the metropolitan boroughs. Wales was to have a special agency of its own. It would be divided into seven districts, each having an agent, and each agent would be able to speak Welsh; and it was also intended to hold six or seven conferences in Wales, some of them to be conducted in the Welsh language. So far as he was able at present to form an opinion, he thought that they might usefully employ at once, or almost at once, thirty agents throughout the kingdom; and when the system had got into thorough good working order, they ought to be able to arrange for at least 700 meetings and lectures in the course of the winter season. Even that number, it was hoped, would be exceeded. The press had also to be used in addition to the platform: because there were multitudes of people not reached by the platform, and a great number of their opponents now greedily read anything issued by the Liberatorists which got into their hands. The committee were anxious that the depot should be thoroughly restocked. The first instalment of placards and tracts was now ready, and it was intended to give increased attention to the distribution department. They wanted an army of volunteer tract distributors throughout the kingdom, and, in order to enrol that army, they had put themselves during the last few weeks into communication with several hundred people, had supplied them with samples of their publications, and sought to secure their concurrence in the plan. Some of the replies had not only been most gratifying, as illustrating the zeal of the writers, but as shewing that people living in obscure districts took as deep an interest in the question as themselves, and that when the county franchise was extended they would have their reward for this rural work in the number of intelligent county voters who would be ready to support their plans. (Cheers.) During the last two months they had issued a quarter-of-a-million copies of their publications, and this work would go on with increased power as the winter proceeded. In connection with the publications, he might add that, yielding to the suggestion often made to them, on the 1st of January they intended to issue the *Liberator* in an improved form, and to supply it, with certain limitations, to 5s. subscribers. Scotland had been viewed in days past with mingled feelings of impatience and hope. The views of the society were widely prevalent, but they were not accompanied by corresponding action, and as soon as the new Patronage Bill was introduced, it seemed to the committee that the hour had come when their Scotch friends might be induced to assume an altogether different attitude. Directly the bill was brought in the committee despatched him to Scotland; when it passed they sent him again, and he should have to go again, to help their Scotch friends to start a new agitation which they were on the point of commencing there. Hitherto Scotland had been dealt with by means of an agent who had gone, from time to time, from England; but now they had a gentleman resident in Edinburgh, the Rev. E. Heath, and in December meetings would be held in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, and Aberdeen. In Manchester the need of a good office had long been felt, and excellent rooms had been taken in Temple Chambers, St. James's-square. These rooms would be open daily, and friends outside Manchester would always know where to go and make known their wants. He would only add that what had taken him but a few minutes to describe had cost the committee many hours and days of labour, and great anxiety, but they felt sure that the conference would share their responsibility and endorse their plans, and by doing whatever was needful in order to carry them into effect, would ensure such a result as would rejoice their hearts. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. J. A. Macfadyen moved:—

That the conference has heard with much satisfaction a statement of the progress made by the executive committee in the preparation and execution of plans for the extended agitation resolved upon at the triennial conference, and expresses the hope that the committee will have the vigorous co-operation of the society's supporters in every part of the country.

He said there was one name which he was sure must have been prominent in the thoughts of many gentlemen present, the name of one to whom undoubtedly this resolution would have fallen as part of his proper work. He referred to his dear and

beloved friend the late Rev. H. W. Parkinson, of Rochdale. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Williams might go back to the executive committee and give them the assurance that in Lancashire they would find hearty co-operation in the prosecution of their work.

Mr. Stanway Jackson, of Manchester, who seconded the motion, said the pith of it lay in the phrase vigorous co-operation. He was sure the young men present would be stimulated by Mr. Miall's presence and example. Mr. Williams' statement showed what could be done, and he hoped that in a very few years they would be able to congratulate themselves on their success. The motion was then carried.

THE 100,000L. FUND.

Mr. Alfred Illingworth then made a statement with reference to the 100,000L. fund. He said the question might be asked, "Why had that proposal for a 100,000L. fund been made?" He was glad to have the opportunity of giving an answer, and that was—and it was a reason which would well be understood amongst business men—that the society, with all its faith—and that was neither small nor weak—would not be justified in extending its operations and taking upon itself a staff—a considerably larger number of labourers and agents, without seeing for some years beforehand where the funds were to come from. Little had been done by the society hitherto in the way of appeal for increased support. They had found the agitation had paid its way, and what funds were necessary had been forthcoming even before they were wanted. They all recognised that they were called upon very largely to extend the work of the society; and though an income of 5,000L. a-year was sufficient when the Liberals were in power, the time had come for further exertions, and they needed an increased effort to educate the country, and to prepare a new programme of work, which would render the future of the Liberal party and the country more illustrious than in the past. Surely a fund of 20,000L. a year was not too much to expect from such a constituency as they possessed. There were many friends who had not yet been approached in the way of appeal; and he believed it would be easy to raise the 20,000L. a year. He believed the committee were deserving of their confidence from his experience of the past, and that they would expend this money wisely and effectively. Mr. Williams had alluded to a portion of their work which would run away with the larger share of their income, and that was the expenditure upon publications; and he believed it was possible by means of publications to reach an audience which could not be reached by the platform or by lectures, and there ought not to be a solitary individual who would be able to declare that he had not read the position which the Liberation Society assumed. In these days the convictions of a nation might be born in a day. If they proceeded in a small and gradual fashion, of course it would take a dozen years to fertilise the whole country, but if they proceeded in the energetic fashion such as was well known in Lancashire and Yorkshire, they would be able to provide their leaders with a policy and a programme, and show them the straight way in which they should walk whenever the opportunity should present itself—when the Liberal party should return to office and power. It had been resolved by the executive committee not to press the question in Lancashire before that conference had been held, but now they need not be under any fear that Lancashire would not respond to the call of the executive committee as heartily as Yorkshire had done already. At the conference in London he ventured to say that that county would raise 25,000L. if Lancashire would raise that or a larger sum. They had by no means exhausted the canvass of Yorkshire, and he was glad to say that they had almost realised that sum. He believed that Lancashire was able and willing to take the first position in this matter, and there could be no jealousy, as they had all one object in view. Hearty co-operation was needed, and he trusted that, when the appeal was made, they would find a response in Lancashire equal to the emergency. Mr. Illingworth then read a statement of the sums already promised, but the list was far from a complete one. He said 23,000L. had been promised at the outset in London, and large sums had since been promised, including 1,000L. from Mr. Hugh Mason.

Mr. Earp, of Melbourne, commented on the smallness of many of the individual subscriptions promised at the London Conference; and he suggested that the conference should make an appeal to gentlemen who were there present to increase their contributions. For his own part he should be glad to double his own.

Mr. H. R. Ellington (the London treasurer) asked Lancashire, in giving its subscriptions, to emulate Yorkshire, for the sake of exciting more interest in the disestablishment movement in London. He was bound to say that the metropolis had not done its fair part in this matter; and they wanted to bring to bear upon it the leverage of the great things done in the north. (Applause.) If Lancashire followed the example of Yorkshire, he thought he could undertake to say that London should be made to do its duty.

The Chairman said that a systematic canvass would be made throughout Manchester and the district, and he was certain that even Mr. Illingworth would be satisfied with the result. (Cheers.)

Mr. Carvell Williams stated that Mr. George Henry Baines, of Leicester, had placed in his hand a list of promises to subscribe a total of 200 guineas to the fund.

The Rev. J. B. Heard, late curate of Pinner, Middlesex, moved a vote of thanks to the chairman for presiding; and Mr. Titus Salt, in seconding the motion, said he had been very glad to hear from the chairman that they might confidently look to Lancashire to do her duty in the matter of the fund of 100,000L., although, privately, he had never had the slightest doubt upon the point. (Applause.)

The Rev. Dr. McKerrow, who had taken the chair when the vote of thanks was proposed to Mr. Mason, said they must all have felt that the chairman's introductory address had struck the right note. It gave no uncertain sound with regard to their principles, their objects, and their determination to prosecute, with all their energy and means, the work which had called them together. He was very sorry the statement had been made beforehand by the Bishop of Manchester, whom he much respected and who had many qualities which excited one's admiration, that very bitter things would be said at that conference against the Church of England. So far as he had heard them there had been no bitterness of tone in any of the speeches. There had been frankness, and an exhibition of principles, and determination; and if it was considered that these were bitter things it could not be helped. (Hear, hear.) They freely conceded to others the liberty of judgment which they claimed themselves, but holding principles which lay at the foundation of free conscience, and the duty which they owed to God and the cause of Christian union, they could not but speak their minds freely and heartily, and express their determination to do their duty to conscience and God. (Applause.)

The resolution was carried by acclamation, and the conference then closed.

At four o'clock, about two hundred of the members of the conference dined together in the great room of the Reform Club, under the presidency of Mr. Samuel Watts, in the absence, through indisposition, of his uncle, Sir James Watts. After dinner, the question of the 100,000L. fund again came up, and, among the subscriptions announced, were 1,000L. each from Sir James Watts and Mr. S. Watts, and 1,000L. from Mr. Henry Lee.

GREAT MEETING IN THE FREE TRADE HALL.

In the evening a great public meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall, which was crowded to overflowing. Mr. Henry Lee presided, and was supported on the platform by most of the gentlemen who had taken a leading part at the conference, and also by the Rev. Dr. M'Leod, Mr. Peter Spence, Mr. Thomas Hall, Mr. John Kingsley, Mr. Benjamin Massey, Mr. Samuel Massey, Mr. Hugh Booth, Mr. Alderman Murray, Professor Scott, Professor Newth, Professor Dowson, the Rev. T. C. Finlayson, Mr. W. R. Sidgbottom, Mr. J. H. Gartside, Mr. Thomas Snape, and Mr. J. H. Gordon.

The Chairman said the signs of the political heavens clearly indicated to the most superficial observer that the period was fast approaching when the laws regulating the ecclesiastical affairs of this nation must undergo complete revision. (Hear, hear.) Our Church—for it was a national establishment—was in danger. It was in a state bordering upon anarchy. We should shortly be called upon to pass a new Act of Uniformity, or declare new forms of worship, or determine disputed points of doctrine, or settle questions relating to vested interests or vestments—(laughter)—or, on the recommendation of a learned professor, repeal the Thirty-nine Articles, and let every man teach and think what he pleased. (Laughter and cheers.) The Church was no longer co-extensive with the nation. The people had withdrawn from, or had been cast out of, its communion, or had been exempted by statute law from the pains and penalties formerly inflicted, yet they retained their legal rights to make changes and enjoy any advantages which the Church established by law afforded. The National Church was the property of the people. The nation, through its representatives in Parliament, exercised authority over, and expressed opinions on, ecclesiastical subjects; while the head of the Government, acting on behalf of the Crown, appointed the bishops, and was now about to carry out a scheme for putting down the Ritualists by force of law. (Hear, hear.) The situation was critical. On the one hand, members of the Church of England chafed under the control of the State. They longed to be free, and desired all the advantages of freedom with none of the drawbacks of State bondage. Taught how to pray, when to pray, and what to pray for, they had had imperfect instruction in the doctrine of self-reliance, and feared the consequences of emancipation—

They lingered shivering on the brink,
And feared to launch away.

They (the Liberationists) asked them to come out of the Valley of Humiliation and climb the Hill of Difficulty—(laughter)—to behold from an elevated standpoint the noble results which the Free Churches of this country had obtained. The speaker then quoted a speech of Mr. Hodgson, M.P. for Bristol, who stated that if the House of Commons were to deal with the doctrine of the Church, he should be inclined to cast in his lot with the Liberation Society or some similar body that would give justice to all churches. It was refreshing to feel that a Liberal Churchmen like Mr. Hodgson be-

lieved that the Liberation Society was willing to do justice to all churches. The cry both from within and without the Establishment was for reform; the former for liberty or repression, as the case might be; the latter, more distant and becoming more definite and loud, for reconstruction on the basis of perfect religious equality. (Cheers.) The problem to be solved lay in one or other of two alternatives, concurrent endowment or absolute freedom. Steps had been already taken in the direction of reform by the passing of the Public Worship Bill and the Scotch Patronage Bill of last session. These bills had but served to reopen old sores, and to create greater complications and discontent. (Hear, hear.) They were met there that night to declare their solemn conviction that no settlement of this vexed question would be satisfactory to the country which did not provide for the disestablishment and disendowment of the National Church. (Cheers.)

The Rev. J. G. Rogers, B.A., proposed:—

That in the opinion of this meeting the ecclesiastical incidents of the last Parliamentary session have supplied new and striking illustrations of the impolicy and of the danger of legislative interference with the religious concerns of the people.

He said that for a party which had disappeared, which had been snuffed out of existence, lectured out of existence, sneered out of existence, and trampled out of existence at every point, for a party which had altogether gone, he thought they had made a tolerably respectable appearance in the great capital of the north that day. (Loud cheers.) But it was not simply the journals who said they were dead. The great rejoicing of the archbishops and bishops at present seemed to show that, whatever other danger might interpose, the Church at least had been delivered from the fear of all her enemies in the Liberation Society. It was strange that these Episcopal gentlemen should take so much trouble about that which had already been disposed of. He was not quite so sure whether the excellent bishop of this diocese was satisfied that the Liberation Society was dead. At all events, it was a remarkable thing that he should have thought it necessary, in a sermon last Sunday, to intimate the kind of thing that was to be expected in the Free Trade Hall to-night. It was a great pity to disappoint a bishop—(laughter)—but he hoped he would be thoroughly disappointed when he said the friends of the Church would no doubt hear in the Free Trade Hall to-night, from the members of the Liberation Society, very many bitter things. He did not think any bitter things had been said to-day. (Hear, hear.) They would have strong things to say—(loud cheers)—that was necessary; but bitter things they would eschew. (Loud cheers.) Nonconformists had been dismissed by the *Edinburgh Review* as having been snuffed out at the last election, and it had been conclusively proved that the Nonconformists did not constitute an important part of the Liberal party. (Laughter.) Well, if the Whigs could do without the Nonconformists, he was perfectly certain the Nonconformists would find it possible to do without the Whigs. (Cheers.) When they asked them, "Where was the Liberation Society?" they answered, "Here we are, alive, strong, fresh, and vigorous as ever." (Loud cheers.) They had got their veteran leader amongst them that night—(loud and prolonged cheers)—and they wanted to show him that though they had fallen upon a time of comparative weakness, there were others rising up who were just as fully prepared to carry the flag to the front as he had been. (Hear, hear.) They were in the trough of the waves to-day; they were on its crest yesterday, and, with God's help, they would be on its crest to-morrow. (Cheers.) He then remarked that it was not till they were frightened at the Liberation Society that the archbishops and bishops began to think of trying to maintain the Protestantism of the Church. After referring briefly to the Endowed Schools Bill of the last session, he said there was that other most interesting bill—(laughter)—which was so welcomed at one time, but which now seemed to be regarded with somewhat more of distrust and anxious feelings; which seemed to promise such great things, and which a few gentlemen were now beginning to see that, if it did anything at all, it must do it in such a way as to disestablish the Church—that wonderful Public Worship Regulation Bill—(laughter)—which the Archbishop introduced, which Lord Shaftesbury metamorphosed, and of which Mr. Disraeli ultimately became the putative father, that wonderful bill which was to stamp out Ritualism. They as Liberationists might be expected to have some amount of sympathy with that measure, and they had up to a certain point. But they had no sympathy whatever with the kind of Orange Protestantism which that bill was meant to embody and to sanction. (Cheers.) Protestantism meant liberty of thought and conscience; that no man should come between another man and his God; that every truth should stand on its own foundation, and should ask no sympathy or help from any other, and they felt that Orange Protestantism, which wanted to buttress up liberty by the bulwarks of tyranny and despotism, which blazoned liberty of conscience on its standard, and would trample out the liberties of those who ventured to differ from it, which sought in chariots and horses that strength which it was not prepared to look for from the living God and the truth itself—they, the true Protestants, felt that that Orange Protestantism was a greater danger to liberty than Ritualism, or even Romanism itself. (Cheers.) He said that in that hall because he read at the time of the Public Worship Regulation Bill that the men who constantly urged the bill, and kept it constantly

before the Parliament, consisted of the Orange representatives sent by this district of Lancashire. Therefore, it was especially appropriate in that place that they, who boasted of being the Protestants of Protestants, should frankly declare to their fellow-countrymen that whatever opinion they met in argument they asked for no weapon of the State to coerce or restrain. (Cheers.) He had a kind of feeling for the Ritualists themselves. Sometimes he read their earnest declarations about the spiritual liberty which belonged to the Church of Christ, about the right of the Church of Christ as distinct from the State, and when he read that, he could not but have a certain amount of sympathy with them. His love of liberty was so great that even when he thought a man was claiming too much liberty, he was slow to strike a blow at him. He loved liberty and he sympathised with their desires, but he loved justice more. He loved liberty much, but even for the sake of liberty he could not consent to introduce a state of anarchy and injustice, and he was bound to say, as regarded the fundamental principle of that bill, that in asserting that power of law the bill was right. Parliament was right that passed it. He thought that if there was an Act of Uniformity, that Act should be maintained. It threw 2,000 men out of the Church in one day, and why should it be relaxed, why should not the same law be recognised and the same principle be carried out? But what was meant by the bill? It was to stamp out Ritualism, said Mr. Disraeli; but it would do nothing of the kind. Would it stamp out Ritualism to forbid a man to preach a certain doctrine at half-past eleven, and forbid him another act at a quarter to twelve? Was it the way to stamp out Ritualism by establishing a kind of ecclesiastical county court? This was not the way to do it. This was not a question of outside forms and ceremonies. They might put out lights and throw aside vestments, and they might forbid everywhere opposition to it, but did they think they could settle the question in that way? There was a conflict of principles going on with men who were intensely in earnest. It was a conflict of men who believed they had right on their side, and if it was to be stamped out, it was not to be done by force of law. And then as to stamping out Ritualism, were they going to stamp out other acts—to stamp out everything that was contrary to law? Was there a bishop who dared to try to carry out the Act of Uniformity, or a statesman so bold as to dare to bring into the House of Commons a bill to make it operative? It was not in this way that the Church of God was to be saved. (Cheers.) These things had strengthened the position of the Liberation Society. Although they had not so many members in Parliament as before, they were stronger externally, and their force in the country was greater at this hour than it was twelve months ago. There were innumerable straws which showed how the current was setting in on their side. (Cheers.) They were strong because these gentlemen had attempted to reform the Church whose condition had been a scandal to Christendom; but they found that at every point it was tumbling down, and they were in mortal fear lest their reformation should end in destruction. (Loud cheers.) In concluding, the speaker in eloquent language referred to the triumphs that had been achieved in the past in many other movements as great as this, and at a time when success seemed almost hopeless. The name of Manchester was blazoned on the records of the nation; for it was Manchester that took up that great principle of free trade, held to it through good and evil report; sent up the men who did battle for it; and finally in that hall rejoiced in the victory which she had won. (Cheers.) Let Manchester also take up this movement, and then, great and noble as she was, she would be greater and grander and nobler still, and she would stand forth to the world the successful vindicator of religious equality. (Loud and continued cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. M'Leod (of Birkenhead) Moderator of the English United Presbyterian Church, in seconding the motion, referred to the Church Patronage (Scotland) Abolition Bill, and said they were asked why they should not accept this liberal measure from a Conservative Government, and the Duke of Argyll, referring expressly to the Church he (Dr. M'Leod) represented, stated that their refusal was ungenerous to the brethren of another Church, and that they were grudging to others that liberty they themselves enjoyed. The Nonconformists of Scotland had no confidence at all in the party whose measure the bill was. (Hear, hear.) In their experience of Conservative Governments they had never known an actually liberal gift coming from their hands. (Hear, hear.) The bill carried out the Conservative practice of imitating, to a certain extent, Liberal procedure, by putting an imitation of an institution which was proper to Free Churches into the hands of a church not free, and it did that in the interests of the State Church exclusively. (Hear, hear.) The Duke of Richmond made no secret that he intended that the Scotch Establishment should be able to say to Nonconformists: "Why will you pass by any more? We also are free; come in, and be one with us as in the days of old. We also are free." But no member of a Church really free was to be deceived by a measure of that kind. It was not only not a Liberal measure; it was a lengthening out of the life of an institution which, in Scotland at least, had outlived its day. (Hear, hear.) It gave a new lease to sectarian privileges which ought not to have been

prolonged a day. (Cheers.) It was not want of generosity which led them to take up the position they did, but a desire to see the members of the Church of Scotland enjoying the same spiritual liberty as themselves, and a desire to place themselves in a position of equality to which they were entitled. (Cheers.) With reference to the Church of England he advocated disestablishment in order that her immensity of power and resources might be brought into full activity. (Cheers.) There were fiery trials out of which institutions, as well as individual souls, came seven times purified—(cheers)—and the trials which put an evil thing out of our life should be welcomed. (Hear, hear.) He believed that the trials which they would be the innocent means of bringing on the Established Churches of this land were trials of this sort. Only let their sons be faithful to that which alone deserved their faith, and it would be with these churches as with the Jews in the fiery furnace of Babylon. They went in bound; they came out free; the fire had kindled on their fetters alone. (Cheers.) Whether they were declaimed against or distrusted, the Liberationists would continue their work, and the day would not now be far away when Churchmen in this land should be delivered from the irregularities and offences which kept them apart at present, and impaired their strength. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried amid loud applause.

Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., then came forward to move the following resolution:—

That, in the course of recent events, and in the present condition of the Established Churches, the meeting sees important indications of the impossibility of maintaining, for any lengthened period, the existing system; it therefore considers it to be the duty of the advocates of disestablishment, not only to carry on the movement with increased vigour, but to aim at producing a general conviction that the question is one of national and not of merely sectarian interest.

He said: I have seen it stated in some paper that this meeting and the conference held in the earlier part of the day are to be regarded as the opening of the winter campaign of the Liberation Society. If so, I cannot but think that we are somewhat late in the field. Our opponents of the Church Defence Association have been busily at work for several weeks, if not months, massing their forces, furnishing their arms, planting their artillery, and even beginning a pretty sharp cannonade on our position, and certainly when we look at the array of our adversaries on a superficial aspect we may well feel smitten with consternation and dismay. Their list of officers bristles with the names of archbishops and bishops, dukes and marquises, lords and Cabinet ministers, and right honourables and members of Parliament as plentiful as blackberries. (Laughter.) But there are two considerations that help to reassure us a little. First of all, their army is, to a large extent, an army of officers—(laughter)—while the rank-and-file is a loose, straggling, incoherent mass, whom they are constantly complaining cannot be made subject to discipline, and cannot be made to stand to their arms. (Laughter.) Well, I think we can trust our men. (Hear, hear.) We are the descendants of the Ironsides—(cheers)—and have been accustomed to drive to flight the armies of the aliens. (Hear, hear.) Another thing that comforts our spirit is this, that there is evidently a mutiny in the opposite camp. There are some of them who are clearly doubtful whether the cause they champion is worth fighting for—nay, there are a considerable number that are showing signs of willingness to come over to our camp. I was reading the other day in Dean Ramsay's very amusing volume of Characteristics of Scotch Life an anecdote to this effect. There was a certain Scotch laird who, though he had a large number of poultry, could scarcely ever get a fresh egg for his breakfast. But one day he saw the wife of his "reeve" or bailiff going to market with a basket on her arm, and he had the curiosity to peep into the basket, and there he found a large number of beautiful white eggs. So he said to his reeve, "John, I like you, I believe you serve me faithfully, but I cannot say I admire your wife." (Laughter.) "Well, sir," said he, "I am not surprised at that because I don't admire her over muckle myself." (Great laughter.) And so there are multitudes of our Church friends in these days who, when we tell them we do not admire the Establishment, are ready to say with the Scotch bailiff, "Well, we don't admire it over muckle ourselves." I said there was mutiny in the camp. It is not merely that there is diversity of opinion as to the merit of the cause, but they are in discord among themselves and are in imminent and deadly peril of turning their fire one regiment against the other. There was poor Lord Hampton; he was invited to come and assist them; and was expected to fire into our camp, and instead of that they accuse him of having made a flank attack upon them, and so he had to be drummed out of the camp. (Laughter.) And what is very curious, when our opponents of the Church Defence Association meet, they generally begin by declaring that their Church needs no defence—it is founded on a rock, it is rooted in the affections of the people of England. They laugh to scorn the puny assailants that endeavour to drag it down, and then they go on for three or four hours to indulge in boundless glorification of their Church, the soundness of its doctrine, the purity of its disciples, the devotion of its ministers, and so on. If the Church requires no defence, and is in no danger, why all this boasting and glorification? When those craftsmen at Ephesus, all with one voice, cried for the space of two hours, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," it was a pretty clear indication, even if they had not confessed it,

that their craft was in danger. (Cheers.) Now I think I may say with a clear conscience that we feel no bitterness or animosity towards our friends the enemy. (Laughter.) So far from it, we believe that in the course we are taking we are endeavouring to do them good, and that although some advantage may accrue to ourselves from the separation of the Church from the State, by far the greatest advantage will accrue to the members of the Church of England itself. (Cheers.) I remember some years ago a gentleman who had lived out of England in the East for many years came and settled in one of the counties of North Wales. During his absence from this country, I suppose he had not kept himself well up with our ecclesiastical struggles and controversies, but one day he told me that he walked out into the town and saw a bill on the walls stating that there was to be a meeting of the Liberation Society. He had never heard the name; it puzzled him considerably, and "at last," he said to me, "I made up my mind that it must be some anti-slavery society." (Hear.) "Well," I said, "you are quite right. (Laughter and cheers.) It is an anti-slavery society. There are some very dear friends of ours, whom we love very much, who are in a state of slavery—(some cries of 'No, no,' and loud cheers)—bound in chains, which are not the less real because they are chains of gold. Many of them are becoming painfully conscious of their enslaved and degraded condition, but there are others"—of whom there seems to be one in that corner—(laughter)—who clank their chains—(confusion at the back of the hall, and cries of "Turn him out!")—no, turn nobody out; we will try to convince him—"who clank their chains and exult in their condition of captivity. (Cheers.) But that, so far from diminishing our compassion, only increases it—(renewed cheers)—and what we desire is to see these dear friends of ours freed. We stand over them, and say to the State, 'Loose them and let them go'—(cheers)—and once they have tasted the sweets of liberty, not a man of them in ten years afterwards, I venture to say, will want to go back into that Egyptian house of bondage." (Cheers.) The resolution I have to move exhorts the advocates of disestablishment to aim at producing a general conviction that the question is one of national and not of merely sectarian interest. I believe with my whole heart that the interests of the whole British nation are most intimately involved in this question of disestablishment. (Hear, hear.) First of all because the Established Church, as is the case with all Established Churches, has for three centuries been the strenuous opponent of all efforts made by the people of this country to give a freer, fuller, nobler development to their national life. (Cheers.) On this subject we have the testimony of some of her own noblest sons. What does Lord Macaulay say?—"The Church of England continued for more than 150 years the servile handmaid of monarchy—[A voice: 'I deny it']—the steady enemy of public liberty." (Cheers.) What does Mr. Lecky say?—"No other Church so uniformly betrayed and trampled on the liberties of her country." And after tracing her history from the time of the Reformation to the reign of George III., he adds—"From first to last the conduct of the clergy was the same, and every triumph of liberty was their defeat." (Hear, hear.) I may, I think, without indulging in undue boasting, give you another sentence from the same able and powerful writer (Mr. Lecky), with regard to the Nonconformists. He is a perfectly disinterested witness; for I believe he is a member of the Church of England himself. "It is difficult," he says, "to overrate the debt of gratitude that England owes both to her non-Episcopal Churches and to those of Scotland. In good report and evil report, amid persecution, and ingratitude, and terrible wrongs, in ages when all virtue seemed corroded, and when apostasy ceased to be a stain, they clung fearlessly and faithfully to the banner of her freedom." (Cheers.) Well, now, our friend here in the corner who denies it, let me remind him of some of the facts. Is it not true that the Established Church set herself against all the efforts of the Puritans to vindicate the right of private judgment and free speech; against the struggle of the patriots of the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth to establish upon firm and lasting foundations our political liberties; against the Revolution of 1688 and the settlement of William III., who rescued us from the tyranny of the Stuarts; against all the endeavours made in the reigns of the Georges to mitigate the despotic laws that oppressed the Nonconformists; against the attempts made by Romilly and Macintosh and others to reform the most barbarous and sanguinary criminal code that ever dishonoured the statute-book of any civilised country; against the American colonies when they stood up to resist arbitrary legislation and unjust taxation; against the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; against the Roman Catholic Emancipation; against Parliamentary Reform in 1832, when the representation of the people was a mere mockery and sham; against, or at least indifference to, the abolition of slavery; against the repeal of the Corn-laws—(loud cheers)—against the abolition of the taxes on knowledge; against the opening of the universities to the nation—(renewed cheers)—against the abolition of Church-rates—(cheers)—against the extension of the suffrage; against the disestablishment of the Irish Church—(loud cheers)—against the Irish Land Bill; against the Ballot Bill; against the system of really national and unsectarian education for the people—(loud cheers)—and against the emancipation of the agricultural labourers?

(Renewed cheers.) Why is this? Is it because the clergy of the Church of England are men less just and generous and humane and benevolent than the rest of their countrymen? ("No, no.") No; ten thousand voices coming from the parishes of England attest to their noble self-sacrifices in the cause of education, to their abounding charity to the poor, to their varied exertions in the cause of philanthropy, and contradict such uncharitable imputations as that. Why is it, then, that they, as a class, have thus been systematically arrayed against measures which they themselves would acknowledge—most of them at any rate—were beneficent to the nation? I will tell you why. Because they are the clergy of an Established Church, and they think it their duty, or imagine it their interest, to take the side of whatever is established, however monstrous the abuse, and how every flagrant the wrong. (Loud cheers.) Is it desirable that Christianity, in the person of those who claim by way of emphasis to be its official representatives, should be associated in the minds of the people with resistance to every kind of oppressive legislation? What is it that has produced the state of things existing at this moment on the continent of Europe?—that has divorced the cause of liberty from the cause of religion? It is that the friends of freedom there have had Christianity presented to them always associated with the name and offices of priests who have done their best to strengthen the hands of tyranny. (Cheers.) Yes; tyranny and priestcraft have always been faithful allies—(loud cheers)—in eternal conspiracy against the rights and liberties of the nations; and what we want is to free Christianity from that odium. Is it not that the fact still that the State-Church is really the means of obstructing and embarrassing all large and liberal legislation in this country? Look at what took place during the last session of Parliament. There are two classes of people that give us, in the House of Commons, no end of trouble, and but for whom we might go on to consider measures of great importance to the well-being of the country. What are those two classes? The publicans and the parsons. (Loud cheers.) Why, last session we had eight bills for regulating the liquor-traffic, and eighteen bills for regulating the Church of England, so that that we were constantly oscillating between things spiritual and things spiritual. (Much laughter and cheers.) Take away the publicans and parsons, and we should do some business. I remember a very humorous article that appeared in the *Nonconformist* newspaper some years ago—I believe from the pen of Mr. Miall. (Cheers.) The title of the article was, "For goodness' sake, take care of the baby!" The idea was this. A party of working-people were going out on a pic-nic. The day was fine, they were all in excellent spirits, and there was every prospect of their having a pleasant and enjoyable day; but one unlucky woman had insisted upon bringing her baby with her—(laughter)—and she and her friends kept thrusting this little child forward on all occasions in such a way that it came at last to preoccupy every thought and to disturb everybody's quiet and rest. If a man wanted to go from one part of the van to another in order to get nearer to his sweetheart, the cry was, "You are digging your elbow into the baby." Then if he went to sit down too hastily the cry was, "You are sitting on the baby." (Laughter.) If he wanted them to go to some distance in order to see a particular view it was impossible on account of the baby; until at length the baby became the very torment of their lives, and they were glad when the pic-nic was at an end. Now, sir, the Established Church is the baby. (Cheers.) It insists on keeping on long clothes—(laughter and cheers)—upon being carried in the arms and dandled on the knees of the State; and the consequence is, when the State attempts to do anything, it is constantly in the way. You need a reform in Parliament, and the cry is, "It is all very well, but for goodness' sake take care of the baby." (Laughter.) You want a repeal of the Corn Laws; but oh! how will it affect the interests of the baby? And so on throughout the whole range of our legislation. There is scarcely any important reform that can be proposed but in some way or other the interests of the Established Church come in to interfere with it. The fact is, we have no dislike to the baby. It is a pretty little baby enough; but we want to get it out of its swaddling clothes; we want to make it stand upon its own legs and walk. (Loud cheers.) A baby that insists upon being a baby for three hundred years is rather too much. (Cheers.) Therefore we say, for its own sake, lest it should get rickety, let it learn to walk, and by-and-bye we hope it may grow up to the fitness and the stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus. Well, there is another thing in which the nation is interested with regard to the Established Church, and that is that it destroys our national unity and introduces an element of discord into all our social relations. There is a great rift or fissure passing through English society from the top to the bottom, separating Dissenters from Churchmen. Everywhere you find the same—that the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans—I do not mean dealings in the way of commerce, though there is too much even of that, but in cordial, social intercourse. Our friends of the Church of England, for some reason or other, imagine that they possess some social superiority over us; I do not know why. It is not very easy to see what virtue or credit there is in a man accepting his religion at the hands of the State instead of choosing it in the exercise of his own judgment

and conscience; but evidently they think so, and so they hold up their heads and they sniff the air, and when the Dissenting Samaritan comes near they gather their respectable skirts around them and pass by on the other side. Well, this does not improve the temper of the Nonconformists. They feel resentment and scorn at the assumption of airs on the part of their neighbours, when they attempt indirectly to brand them with the stigma of social inferiority; and these men, living close to each other in the same neighbourhood, men of the kindest nature on both sides, are kept aloof, and look askance at each other because there exists in this country an institution which, in the name of the religion of peace and brotherly love, has thus the effect of separating Christians one from the other. (Cheers.) Now look at the state of things in the United States of America. There is no State Church there. In no country in the world does political feeling run so high, or is political conflict marked by more passion and vehemence both within Congress and without Congress; but yet we never hear of those contests turning on religious questions. We never find sectarian bitterness coming in to exasperate political animosity; we never hear the sacred words of Church and Bible tossed to and fro on the lips of drunkards during the time of elections, because they are the watchwords of political party; and is not this an immense gain? (Hear, hear.) Would it not be an incalculable gain to us if this source of discord in our social and political relations were withdrawn, and men who have the same faith, hope, and Divine charity in their hearts were led to mingle like kindred drops by removing this wall of separation? (Cheers.) I think the Established Church has a tendency to deteriorate the national morality. Our friends who have the defence of the Establishment say that it is of great value, in order that there may be a national recognition of Christianity. Now, I am not going to treat that sentiment with anything like scorn or ridicule. I can perfectly understand how the mind may be captivated with that idea, and yet I believe in my conscience that underneath that fair outward seeming, a most deadly and dangerous delusion lurks. This corporate and official religionism is made to do duty in the place of personal religion. A Christian nation! God grant that England may become more and more a Christian nation; but what is a Christian nation? A nation of Christians. (Hear, hear.) Yes; there ought to be a national recognition of Christianity, but how? By fashioning our national policy in accordance with the principles and precepts of Christianity. What is the value of a formal acknowledgment made with the lip or by certain acts of pompous ceremony, when all that may consist with a policy that is in utter defiance of the essential truths of the very religion to which this elaborate reverence is rendered; with unequal laws, with war and confiscation and fraud in regard to the lands of other nations? It is a delusion which only tends to corrupt and deaden the national conscience to say we are a Christian people and a Christian State, when by our policy we may be trampling under our foot every one of the most essential truths of Christianity. This is a question that is coming to the front—that will come to the front independent of the initiative of the Liberation Society altogether. It is forcing itself forward by the mere power of circumstances, not only in this country, but in every country in Europe. What are we to do? There are some of our political friends, or those who call themselves friends, who have extremely anxious that we should not pass any rash, extreme, or precipitous measure at the present conference. We have not done so. (Hear, hear.) We have not passed any resolution making our support of any political party dependent upon their immediate adoption of Liberationists. (Hear, hear.) We have waited long for the redress of our former grievances, and we are willing to wait again. (Hear, hear.) We would rather that our party waited also, and did not go forward until they were prepared with some distinct and decided policy. But what I say is this: "Don't expect that we shall stifle our convictions on this great question. Don't expect that you are to be allowed to shelve this great question for ever." Our Whig friends alluded to by Mr. Rogers—represented by the *Edinburgh Review*—said, "Don't divide the Liberal party. The one thing needful is to put us back into office." We ask, "What do you mean to do when you get back into office?" "Oh, never you mind that," they reply. But the Liberal party do not intend to do that. We mean to keep our eyes open, and we reply to these gentlemen, "It will not do for you to pooh-pooh this great question, which the evident designs of Providence have forced on the attention of all civilised Governments; and the time will come when you will have to deal with it, and then you will be thankful that there was a body of men like the English, Welsh, and Scotch Nonconformists, who will back you up, not as a matter of political expediency, but as a matter of conscience and conviction in the sight of God and man. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. A. Illingworth, in seconding the resolution, said that the late Liberal Government took office with the disestablishment of the Irish Church. When the Conservative Government came in they dealt with the Scotch Church. Let them mark the difference. The Irish Church was disestablished and disendowed in answer to the almost universal demand of the British people, who declared that this nuisance was unendurable, and could not be tolerated. But who in Scotland asked for the tinkering

which had been adopted towards the Scotch Church? It had been an act of great cleverness on the part of the Conservative party to give a new lease of life to the Established Church of Scotland. But, like most surprises, it was destined to end in the destruction of the thing it was intended to preserve. (Hear, hear.) What was the condition of things now in the House of Commons? They had now over one hundred members coming from Ireland, where there was no State Church, and the great majority of these members were Roman Catholics, with powerful sympathies in favour of Roman Catholicism, and bound by the laws of their Church, and by honest conviction, no doubt, to use their influence to advance the interests of that Church. Then in Scotland they had a Church that was disestablished but not disendowed. Besides this, they had the members coming from Wales, who, if they fairly reflected the opinions and voices of the Principality, would be the exponents of Free-Church principles, as against that of Established Churches. He put it to the Episcopalians whether they could tolerate the reflection that the spiritual and temporal affairs of their Church should be managed by such an assembly as this? He thought they were only at the beginning of this struggle. The Public Worship Bill which the House of Commons passed last session, if looked upon calmly and deliberately, was found to be a two-edged sword, and a dangerous weapon. It was hoped, however, that it would be made pleasant by supplementary legislation next session, and, in sooth, the House of Commons was going to take up the question of the Established Church and Ritualism! He believed it would signally fail, and that Convocation could not suggest to it anything in the national interest, and they would find out that what was intended as an additional security to the Established Church would prove to be its death knell, and would produce the conviction upon the minds of Episcopalians in this country that the sooner they withdrew their affairs from the management of the House of Commons the better it would be for the harmony of the Church and for the national welfare. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried, with about twenty dissentients.

Mr. C. H. Hopwood, M.P., moved the next resolution. The Church of England boasted of vast riches; she claimed privileges which extended all over the world wherever a State official carried with him the State institutions of his country. She had based those claims hitherto upon the fact that she was created by Parliament, and endowed by Parliament—"No," "Yes," and cheers)—and was, therefore, entitled to be called a national Church. If she had been a national Church, if she had truly represented the whole body of Englishmen, they should not be there that night to seek her undoing as a political establishment. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) But a Church which in her history had proved that she was opposed to the truest wishes of Englishmen in the most serious of our national crises, could not expect at the hands of thoughtful Englishmen any longer that she should remain a national institution. (Cheers.) He would say that if the Church merely represented in numbers the vast majority of this country, she would find a basis for continued existence; but did she? ("No," "Yes," and loud cheers.) At one period of her history, when the total of her ministers could not have been more than twice the number, I tell that gentleman who says "No" she drove out 2,000 of her best men, to say nothing of laymen, and she then said, "I still remain a national Church, though I represent only half of the nation." And to-day she said, "I represent at least half the people of England." (A voice: "More.") It mattered not; but whom did the Church represent? She represented the Ritualists, and the other half of the Church. He had great pleasure in moving the appointment of the committee of the Manchester and Salford Auxiliary of the Liberation Society for the ensuing year.

Mr. G. W. Latham, in seconding the resolution, said he stood before them on a different platform to that of any of the preceding speakers, for he was before them as a member of the Church of England—(cheers); and in the name of that Church he called upon his Nonconformist brethren to come and help them. (Cheers.) It was those who were in the house of bondage who suffered most the galling of the chains. (Hear, hear.) Some of them might ask how it was that so powerful a body as the Church of England could not liberate itself, and the answer was that the slavery of generations had demoralised many of them, and they feared the crack of the whip; that in hundreds and hundreds of cases, although they wished to rise against their oppressors, they were held down to the ground by the traditions of a caste and the supremacy of the priest. He hoped that just at the present moment the events which were going on afforded them some hope of deliverance. It was possible that the Church of England would disestablish itself, and he believed whether Nonconformists interfered or not that the event would happen; and they wanted Nonconformists to be organised, and the Liberation Society to have its full number of officers, for this reason, that when the Church of England should be disestablished it might guide Parliamentary action to a proper disposal of its immense revenues. (Cheers.)

The resolution was then carried.

On the motion of Mr. Samuel Watts, seconded by Mr. Alderman Murray, a vote of thanks was proposed to the Chairman, and the vast meeting separated.

THE PRESS AND THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE.

Nearly all the London daily papers have had articles on the conference last week, and we may indicate the drift of some of them. The *Times* thinks that the entire proceedings told this tale—that there is no popular movement on the subject whatever, and that Liberationists have not merely to devise their scheme, but to create their grievance. If this question ever becomes a practical one, it must be from very different motives, and under the guidance of very different leaders. The Irish Church was a practical grievance and a scandal, and was therefore overthrown.

The *Daily News* says that the conference gave a considerable prominence, as it hoped it would, to the subject of disendowment as well as of disestablishment. This is the point to which people will henceforward begin, probably, to turn their eyes with especial interest. The Liberation Society will probably find that the effect of their future movements will a good deal depend, in a practical way, upon the manner in which they can influence the class whom the ordinary Englishman who is not much of a politician may be taken to represent. Therefore, that Mr. Miall made a judicious recommendation when he urged the society to give disendowment "a conspicuous place" in its future plans, and to have "something definite" to say on that subject. The five millions a-year which Mr. John Morley described as disposed of by the Church is an amount worthy the consideration of even the wealthiest nation.

The *Daily Telegraph* remarks that it may be clever policy to clothe the agency over which Mr. Miall virtually presides with a certain historic prestige; but the claims so confidently made are inconsistent with the course of modern political annals. Nevertheless, it is in this hardy spirit that he reviews the past, describes the present, and plunges with prophetic wing into the future. According to him, a time has arrived when the Liberation Society may "make a change of front"; and, on the ground that disestablishment is a foregone conclusion, an inevitable result of conflicting views and passions, he directs the march of his forces towards disendowment. Against this dubious appeal to a low order of motives we may rely upon the national sentiment of honesty. If the day should come when, for varied reasons—internal dissension and sacerdotal presumption not being the least—the nation should call for disestablishment, our strongest characteristics as a people will have to be uprooted before we proceed upon the lines so broadly indicated by Mr. Miall.

The *Standard* says that what the grievance is of which Liberationists complain is the one thing which the public have never been able to learn. Who is injured by the Church Establishment? Who is the worse by the dedication of this infinitesimally small portion of the national revenues to the maintenance of the national religion? That there are some who do not obey its teaching, and who have departed from its discipline, can be no good excuse for the spoliation of those who remain faithful in their allegiance. If it is a crime for a Church to have endowments, then it is a crime which the Established Church shares with nearly every religious denomination in this country. The Liberationist crusade is, in fact, as much against property as against anything else. The contest to which we are provoked is simply the old vulgar feud of those who have not against those who have.

The *Morning Post* says that if we had now to consider whether the State should adopt some particular communion, endow it, and place it before the country with all the dignity and the social prestige which necessarily belong to an Established Church, the decision would probably have been in the negative. But that is not our position. The Church exists. It has been intimately associated with the history of the country for three centuries, and it was never during all that time more efficient or more popular than now. If it amuses the Liberation Society to keep "pegging away" at its disestablishment crotchet, let it do so by all means. To enthusiasts the hopelessness of success is sometimes the strongest of incentives.

The *Hour* contends that the tendency of the times is not in favour of a free Church in a free State, but against it. In Germany and Italy all recent legislation has been directed, not towards relaxing, but tightening, the union between Church and State. The policy of the Liberal Government was a policy both of confiscation and destruction. Nothing under the circumstances was more natural than that a raid should be made on the Church. Iconoclasm of every kind was in the atmosphere, and an epidemic of violence was expounded. Mr. Gladstone's Administration has ceased to exist, but the influence of its policy and example are still felt. What we now feel is the groundswell after the storm; what we now hear is the echo of an old cry. With wisdom on the part of her rulers and temperance in her pretensions, the future welfare of the Church as a national establishment is ensured.

The *Spectator*, in reference to the speech delivered on Thursday by Mr. Leatham, says he maintains that if Mr. Gladstone can be got to head the movement for disestablishment, it will be no obstacle to his leadership that he should insist on giving at least as good terms to the English Church as he gave in 1869 to the Irish Church. Perhaps not, as regards Mr. Leatham and his friends, who, like

Mr. Miall, have always taken a disinterested and generous view of that side of the question. But then where is the evidence that such a Liberal programme will inspire anything but dislike in the constituencies at large? Have the Liberationists gained so much at the late elections as to be persuaded that their cause is really popular? What but fear for the Church obtained for Mr. Disraeli so sudden and great a victory? Is there a single really great constituency in England except possibly Birmingham which sends up a majority of declared Liberationists? We maintain that if the cause of disestablishment is ever to be made a popular cause with the constituencies, new ground like that taken up by Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. John Morley must be broken, and something attractive proposed with relation to the use of the large endowments which the Church, if disendowed in a rigid spirit, and not in the spirit of the Irish Act, might be compelled to disgorge.

It is to be hoped (says the *Examiner*) that the Liberation Society, in any scheme they may propose, will enter a strong protest against following the precedent set in the disendowment of the Irish Church. Simple disestablishment, no doubt, leaving the sects to quarrel for the funds, or leaving all the funds to one sect, would do something towards diminishing the corrupting influence of endowed dogma. Disestablishment would not only lower the prestige of the ministers of the Thirty-nine Articles, but it would also put the chances of promotion upon a different basis, and thereby would diminish the temptation to enter the Church from dishonest motives. In the case of the Irish Church, we can trace the operation of these redressing influences in the diminished number of candidates for holy orders. But there is no reason why the reform should not be more thorough in the English Church. There is not, we believe, much ground for the danger that Mr. Leatham seems to apprehend, of an effort being made to divide the spoils of the Establishment among the parishes. This would certainly be the natural sequel to the recent transfer of the patronage of the Established Church of Scotland to the congregations; and it would derive support from the views of which Mr. Freeman has of late been the most distinguished supporter, that the funds of the Establishment belong, not to a corporate Church, but to the several churches. The historical argument for this view is not particularly strong. Apart from other considerations, it ignores the all-important fact that the money left to the churches was left to them while they were in connection with the State. That connection must always have been an implied condition of the bequest; and to make over the funds to the several churches, irrespective of that condition, would be as much an act of confiscation as to apply them to the purchase of railways or the reduction of the national debt. But the subtleties of the historical argument disappear before the broad fact that the State, for more than three hundred years, has claimed the right of determining what opinions a man must subscribe to before he can enjoy the emoluments of the Church by law established, whether it be viewed as a corporate whole or an aggregate of parts. This fact constitute the endowments of the Established Church or churches, to all intents and purposes, national property; and as such they will be treated when the day of disestablishment comes. No one who cares to read the signs of the times can doubt that that day is near at hand.

The *Echo* thinks that the people are cool about disestablishment not only because of the merits of the clergy, but because they do not wish to liberate the Romanising portion of them from legal control; they are lukewarm about disendowment because the Irish precedent is not at all to their taste; and the moral of all this is that the work of the Liberation Society, if done at all, must be greatly aided from within the Church. If the High Church party, with Mr. Gladstone at their head, were to recruit the ranks of disestablishment, that will become a burning question, and should the Church become by her own fault, so obnoxious to the people that they will be disposed to withdraw the national endowments as has been done in Italy, then, and not till then, disendowment will be popular. However, we cannot deny that the change of policy on the part of the Liberation Society is a wise and a most prudent decision.

Of the numerous provincial papers which have had articles on the subject we can only refer to a few. Nearly all of Liberal tendencies approve of disestablishment. The most considerable exception is the *Manchester Guardian*, which argues on the subject as though the Liberationists at Manchester wanted to make it a strict testing question at elections, which they certainly did not propose to do. As the *Leeds Mercury* says, the conference firmly resisted the temptation to convert disestablishment into the test question everywhere and under all circumstances at the next election, and thinks that it has thus acted with a discretion which will assuredly not go unrewarded. Our *Leeds* contemporary remarks that those who have studied the movement of public feeling in our time are bound to admit that the opposition to Establishments is growing from day to day, and that the members of the Manchester Conference were justified, according to every canon of political decorum, in passing such a resolution as that moved by Mr. John Morley. The *Bradford Observer* speaks of its comprehensiveness as the most significant mark of the stage which the Liberation Society has now reached. So long as a cause is advocated by one particular class of minds those whose sympathies belong to a different order will not attach

themselves to it. The support of Mr. John Morley is from this point of view particularly valuable to the cause of Liberation. As one of the leaders in the literary world, his sayings will be listened to in circles which have hitherto stood aloof. An idea has prevailed in certain quarters that the Establishment is favourable to high culture; and Mr. Morley is the very man to remove this mistaken notion. He struck the right chord when he alluded to the Establishment as a form of protection. If this be a true analogy, and the Church is to suffer as little from disestablishment as the agricultural interest did from Free Trade, Churchmen may well consider whether they are not opposing their best interests, and rejecting what would be to their greatest advantage.

Altogether, remarks the *Sheffield Independent*, the conference was a great success, and none the less so because the speeches were enlivened by humour and characterised by exceeding good temper. Evidently the Liberation movement is not likely to resemble the American road we heard about recently—hat, beginning as a splendid boulevard, dwindled into a squirrel track, and ran up a tree.

The *South Wales Daily News* comments very severely upon the cuckoo remark that the "tone of the times on these questions" is against the Liberationists. If so, does that prove that they are wrong? The *Daily Telegraph* even would, we believe, scarcely assert this, and if it does not mean this, what is the object of the advice? The whole question is one of truth or error, of right or wrong, and not of majority or minority. The "tone of the times" was against Wycliffe, as it was subsequently against Luther, but this was no proof that the action of these reformers was wrong. Results certainly justified the wisdom of that action, but the morality of it and the duty of these reformers were independent of results. It is truly lamentable to find that the habit of looking to the success of a principle rather than to its truth is so prevalent in modern society, and even amongst those who profess to entertain a lofty ideal, and to be influenced by a high morality.

ACCIDENT TO THE REV. T. DURANT PHILIP.—The directors of the London Missionary Society have heard with deep regret of an accident which has recently occurred to the Rev. T. D. Philip, of Hankey, South Africa. While proceeding from Port Elizabeth to his own station in August last, the cart in which he was travelling was overturned, and he suffered a severe fracture of the left thigh. Pending the arrival of surgical aid, Mr. Philip was conveyed to the nearest farmhouse. Happily assistance was at hand, in the person of the Rev. H. Kayser. Let us hope and pray that his restoration may be speedy and complete.

LAMBETH BATHS WINTER MEETINGS.—The great interior of the Lambeth Baths was filled on Saturday evening last by an attentive and decorous audience of working men and their families, assembled to assist at the opening of the winter session. In the absence of Sir J. C. Lawrence, M.P., who is at present in Rome, the chair was taken by Alderman McArthur, M.P., supported by the Rev. G. M. Murphy, Messrs. Dunn, Inwards, Stiff, Cooke, Campbell, etc. Mr. Murphy, who was received with loud cheers, read the year's statement, which told of steadily increasing prosperity and success in the meetings, which hereafter would enjoy the music of their own piano, and be devoted alternately to the improvement and amusement of the working classes of Lambeth. Mr. Murphy, however, informed his hearers that although the liberality of Mr. Samuel Morley still provided the rent, the committee would have to rely on contributions and admissions for the rest of the expenses. The chairman then addressed a few opening observations to the meeting. Other speakers followed, and resolutions were passed rejoicing at the resumption of its winter evenings, pledging all present to the discouragement of intemperance, and thanking all who co-operated for the success of the meetings. The speaking was alternated with some excellent music, both choral and vocal.

REPRESENTATION OF BIRKENHEAD.—There are three candidates for the seat vacant by the death of Mr. Laird. Mr. McIver, a shipowner and Conservative; Mr. Samuel Stitt, a thorough Liberal; and Mr. Simpson, an independent Conservative, who is in favour of the Permissive Bill and of Home Rule, and is opposed to disestablishment. Mr. McIver and Mr. Stitt are canvassing vigorously. A meeting of the supporters of the latter was held on Friday. Mr. Stitt, who was warmly received, delivered a speech in which he declared himself in favour of the disestablishment of the Church, hoping to see the time when Churchmen would say, "We will be free," and when the Church, freed from the shackles which now held her, would go forth conquering and to conquer. With regard to the education question he avowed himself to be an upholder of a system of Government secular education, religious instruction, to be given by Christian men and women apart from ordinary training in schools. The Bible should not be made a task-book, for it thus shared the dislike which children were apt to feel for task-books. He disapproved of the 25th clause, but would not on this account withhold his support from a measure which had resulted so beneficially as the Education Act. He pledged himself to support local interests. A resolution of confidence in Mr. Stitt, and binding the meeting to use all legitimate means for his return, was adopted. Mr. Rylands, ex M.P. for Warrington, delivered a telling speech in criticism of Conservative principles and professions.

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The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1874.

SUMMARY.

MR. GLADSTONE's new pamphlet enjoys the distinction of having yesterday obtained the public notice of the Pope in a reception of English Catholics at the Vatican. If an Infallible Pontiff, as well as a king, should not condescend to argue, still less should he indulge in vulgar abuse. Pius IX., who says he has not read the book he refers to, and has "no great desire to read blasphemies," declares that the burden of Roman Catholic dogmas is light, and pronounces the statesman who interprets the scope of the civil allegiance of Roman Catholics after his own fashion—that is, as conflicting with the claims of the Roman Pontiff—to be "a viper assailing the bark of St. Peter," and those who walk astray from his Church as "worse than infidels or Protestants." Mr. Gladstone is not only "a viper," but is "intoxicated by the proceedings of another Minister in another State." All this is a pitiable exhibition, and what a scandal is it to that religion in the name of which the venerable scold professes to speak! But the Pope is hardly less violent in his language against Mr. Gladstone than are the organs of the Irish Romanists. Apparently the tie between the Liberal party and the Roman Catholics is now completely severed. It is a clear gain to the former, but as the *Daily News* remarks, "a complete disentanglement of sectarianism from politics is obviously not to be effected while England and Scotland have still State establishments to uphold the doctrines of a favoured sect."

While the Pope is thus showing to the world his entire freedom from that restraint by which he pretends to be fettered, the Italians are quietly exercising their constitutional rights; and in Rome, where a few years ago priestly rule was absolute, Garibaldi and many other opponents of the Papacy have been elected to the national Parliament. Throughout the Peninsula the partisans of the Vatican have by direct injunction abstained from voting, and the contest has been between the Right, supporters of the Government, and the Left, representing the more democratic party. Many second ballots will be necessary, but apparently the Minghetti Cabinet will have a good working majority of about fifty. The immediate necessity of the hour is economy and retrenchment. Though the Italians are taxed to their utmost capacity, the national Budget shows yearly deficits, which can only be removed by a great reduction of expenditure. This is the task which Signor Sella, the ablest and the sternest of Italian financiers, will probably be called upon to undertake.

The French National Assembly reassembles at Versailles on the 30th, and, with a considerably increased Republican party, as the result of the elections which have taken place during the recess. Three of these came off on Sunday, and in each case the struggle was between Republicans and Bonapartists. In the Nord a Moderate Republican was chosen by a majority of 16,000 votes, but no less than 100,000 electors are said to have abstained. In the Drôme also the Liberals were victorious, carrying in their candidate by an overwhelming majority. But in the Oise the Duc de Mouchy, a Bonapartist to the backbone, received more than double the number of votes of the next on the poll. In this case the Republicans were divided, but the

votes recorded for both their representatives were very far short of the number given to the Imperialist candidate—who, it may be remembered, recently entertained the Prince of Wales. Though the Republicans carried two of the three vacant seats filled on Sunday, the most remarkable feature of these elections is the growing strength of the Bonapartists. The French have short memories. The fatal disasters brought upon them by the Empire are to a great extent forgotten or condoned. But the chief helpers of the Bonapartist reaction have been the Orleanist leaders, who might have established a Republic, under which they would have had free scope, but seem to prefer either a Legitimate King, or an Emperor, under either of whom they would be effaced.

For a week past the Carlists have been besieging, and more or less bombarding, Irun—a small fortified town on the Bidassoa, close to the French frontier—but without any tangible results, in the apparent hope of capturing it before relief could arrive. But the garrison has been reinforced by troops sent by sea, and General Laserna seems to be engaged in creating a diversion, either by a movement further south, or by a vigorous effort to raise the siege of Pampeluna. There have so often been rumours of forthcoming active operations in the north of Spain, that it is difficult to believe aught but well-authenticated reports of actual events. The inhabitants of Irun are Basque, whom Don Carlos came to emancipate, but who now experience his tender mercies in the shape of petroleum shells!

From New York we have the curious report that, in view of the marked change of public feeling, General Grant is not averse to throwing overboard the Republican party, and becoming the nominee of the Southern Conservatives on the platform of paper currency, and in opposition to the Civil Rights Bill, which proposes to remove all disabilities, social as well as political, from the coloured race.

It is pretty evident that the prisoner who surrendered at Gwalior, and has now been removed to Cawnpore, is not the real Nana Sahib. The latest telegrams states that the difficulties of identification are increasing, and opinion upon the subject at Cawnpore "is perfect chaos."

A not uninteresting piece of news from Africa is that the King of Ashantee, finding himself powerless to recover his ascendancy over the Adansi, Djuabin, and Becquah tribes, has now settled down quietly, and would be glad for trade relations to be resumed. His supremacy seems to be utterly broken, but the expected commercial advantages are very slow in appearing, for as we are delicately told, "confidence is barely restored yet."

We are sorry that the demands upon our space this week will not allow us to do justice to the speech of Mr. E. A. Leatham in addressing his constituents at Huddersfield last week. In speaking of the political events of the year, he said that the Roman Catholics had placed themselves in a very critical position, being confronted by a victorious party, to whose victory they had contributed, but whose hostility they had not disarmed; while the licensed victuallers "sold themselves to the Tories, and, as it turned out, for as poor a mess of pottage as any man ever parted with his birthright for since the day when the profane sportsman of the Bible disposed of his to the smooth-faced man who dwelt in tents." But the black-aproned interest united with the white-aproned interest to monopolise the energy of Parliament during the last session—the one being dismissed with a blessing, the other with something which if it were a blessing was a blessing in disguise. Mr. Leatham very forcibly referred to the probable intentions of the Tories in their ecclesiastical legislation in the following terms:—

The Scotch Patronage Bill had been brought in nominally to do away with patronage in the Church of Scotland, but really, as he (Mr. Leatham) believed, to pave the way for a great change in the Church of England. Every enlightened Churchman knew that patronage was the weak side of the Church, and that disestablishment was only a question of time. The problem, then, was how to divorce disestablishment from disendowment, and how to get rid of State control, and yet march off with the State spoils. If the patronage of the Church could only be transferred from individuals to public bodies, and from public functionaries, including the Crown, to the congregations themselves, a great deal would be done towards investing the congregations with the property of the Church, and so towards the creation of a new and formidable barrier in the way of disendowment. That was precisely what the Scotch Church Patronage Act had done for Scotland, and he believed, now that the precedent had been established, that a series of measures would be introduced having the same end with regard to the Church in this country.

This view is well worth pondering by Broad Churchmen who support the Establishment in the belief that it preserves the perfect control of the State.

MINISTERS AT THE GUILDHALL.

No brighter and more genial Ninth of November has been known for years than that which smiled on the Lord Mayor's Show on Monday, and enticed into the streets of London many thousands of people to view the antique, and oft-condemned, but ever-popular, procession. Temple Bar may possibly have to go the way of all unseemly obstructions, but the City Corporation, which has so long conserved it, not only exists in a state of vigorous age, but is apparently destined to survive intact for many a year to come. One can hardly misinterpret the studied reticence of Mr. Cross in reply to the recent demands for a metropolitan municipality, the obtrusive protest of Chief Baron Kelly at the reception of the new Lord Mayor at Westminster Hall, the protests of subordinate members of the Government, or the tone of the assembly and chief speakers at the Guildhall banquet. It is possible, though not probable, that the present ministry will undertake the task of recasting the several municipal arrangements which stand for local government in London; it is most improbable that they will next session propose a measure for welding them together in a great municipality, or essay to touch one iota of the privileges and monopolies of the City Corporation. Our present Conservative administration evidently shrinks from a change which no other party in the State besides itself could hope to bring about.

The dinner at the Guildhall was like similar entertainments that have taken place under that venerable roof on the Ninth of November from time immemorial, but the scene, and to some extent the company, were different. A Conservative Lord Mayor was on this occasion, and for the first time since 1868, entertaining a Conservative ministry. The atmosphere was so redolent of Conservatism, that even the chief host was unable to suppress his political elation or avoid some indiscretion of speech. Mr. Goschen was there also, according to recent promise, and with him a good sprinkling of Liberals, who no doubt, must have felt a little chastened in their enjoyments, and have concluded that in the Guildhall at least the "Tory reaction" was very palpable. If, however, the senior Liberal member for the City expected his pent-up curiosity to be satisfied, he was doomed to grievous disappointment. The Prime Minister was as complacent and reticent as an experienced and wary statesman with a safe majority at his back could be expected to be. His speech was worthy of Lord Palmerston on these festive occasions, minus his lordship's playful humour. Mr. Disraeli figured at the right hand of the Lord Mayor as a kind of earthly Providence whose beneficent hand had scattered blessings upon a smiling land. What a radiant picture! England happy and contented, and ready to accept the office of adviser or mediator; trade thriving; the Chancellor of the Exchequer buoyant with hope; a first session, short but useful; working men turned Conservatives, because they had got all they wanted; foreign relations pacific and friendly; our colonies making rapid strides; India herself again after a great calamity, etc. It is England that is the exemplar of a state "which has solved the great problem by combining order with liberty, and which, if some of those troubles which are anticipated may occur, will, while it still vindicates the principle of religious liberty, not shrink from proclaiming the principle of religious truth." Such claims when judiciously paraded find a ready ear in any British assembly, but elicit exuberant cheers from a company of well-dined citizens. And somehow—such is Mr. Disraeli's artistic ingenuity—the praise seems to come back reflected upon the speaker, and forms a halo of glory around a Government which has (thus far) achieved the wondrous feat of passing a Licensing Bill and opening up the fountains of ecclesiastical bitterness—or, as Mr. Leatham puts it, has played alternately into the hands of the black-aproned and the white-aproned interest. Who can fail, after his Monday's speech, to picture Mr. Disraeli as the wondrous magician who has converted the working man to Conservatism, and revealed himself as the guardian angel of "religious liberty" on the one side, and "religious truth" on the other!

A famishing public after a long and dull recess is content to accept at the hands of an artistic Prime Minister a few empty platitudes and elegant nothings without criticism. Why should we expect a statesman to launch into the stormy sea of politics when he can lull us to rest with such complacent assurances, which if not novel are carefully phrased. If we want evidence of any actual political millenium, what need we more than the spectacle of the erst insulted Indian Minister partaking of the

"loving cup" at the Lord Mayor's board with the effusive Premier, and nearly every member of that happy ministerial family assisting at this public display of reconciliation and concord? For the rest we must all wait. An enthusiastic Guildhall assembly, the *élite* of officials, ambassadors, and civil dignitaries, speed the Conservative Ministers on their way. Next morning the Cabinet Councils for the season commenced. Business follows pleasure. If there are any secrets to keep, they have been thus far well kept. The Prime Minister's idyllic picture of universal happiness and sunshine will perhaps, as was perhaps intended, tranquillise the minds of many who have been disturbed by the "expostulations," prophecies, and forebodings of unresting Mr. Gladstone. But, as the *Times* has ventured to hint, "When people talk next Lord Mayor's Day of the events of the last session, the chief topic of their conversation will in all probability be something which is not now within the area of our contemplation. The very fact that we see nothing before us is a proof that we shall have to look back on something we do not foresee, and should be a warning to be prepared for whatever may be impending upon us. Meditation over our virtues is the last stage of beatitude for hermits who retire from the world, but those who have not given up the struggle and the fight cannot afford to indulge in this pleasant occupation." Meanwhile Mr. Disraeli has done his best to place us at ease, and we may thank him for his good intentions, albeit his magical illusions may soon be dispelled.

THE LATE REV. G. W. CONDER.

OUR obituary records this week the decease of the Rev. George William Conder, pastor of the Independent Church, Queen's-road, Forest-hill. It is with deep and painful emotion that we call the attention of our readers to the sudden and sad event. Our much-loved friend, in seemingly excellent health in the earlier part of the week before last, was smitten before its close with scarlet fever, which had previously invaded his family circle, though, it was hoped, without worse result than that of passing anxiety and inconvenience. The disease, mild in its type, speedily burned itself out, but the recuperative powers of his constitution proved unequal to effect a repair of the exhaustion which it left behind, and Mr. Conder sank to his last rest on Sunday morning, November 8.

Many of our readers, probably most of them, will have received tidings of this lamentable and very unexpected event with a shock of surprise and grief similar to that which struck with momentary stupor the members of the spiritual community over which he presided, of whom the writer of this notice was one. For Mr. Conder's relations to religious society in this country were by no means limited to the boundaries of his pastorate. The sphere of his activity and usefulness was national as well as local. The ends at which he aimed, and which he held himself ready at all times to promote, without regard to personal convenience, were not merely those which lay within professional lines, but also those which, in his view and to his sympathies, were identified with the broad interests of humanity. His nature, and, we may add, his culture, placed him *en rapport* with all practical efforts to raise his fellow-men to a higher plane, whether in regard to their spiritual, moral, intellectual, social, or political well-being. Too large-hearted and manly to pay much regard to sectarian differences, he freely and cordially mingled with members of all denominations, and rejoiced in any opportunity of serving all of every name who claimed his assistance to any worthy object. He loathed conventional shams, and not least those which eat their way into modern religious organisations. He had the courage of his convictions, and undauntedly exposed himself, now to the covert insinuations, anon to the open taunts, of men and even brethren who could not understand the breadth and many-sidedness of his nature. And hence, perhaps, his influence for good was less perceptible to some among whom he officially ministered, than to the many scattered over the whole kingdom whose principles he never spared himself in labours to advance. He may be said to have belonged to the Broad Church, not in the ecclesiastical and polemical, but in the spiritual sense, and it was in the promotion of its progress that "he served his generation and fell asleep."

Of Mr. Conder's intellectual capacity and powers the majority of our readers, perhaps, will have been favoured with sufficient opportunities of forming their own estimate. The press, the pulpit, the lecture-desk, and the platform, displayed in various phases the robust energy of his mind. He grasped with a firm

hand the primary principles of the truths he essayed to teach, and he threw around them a wealth of picturesque illustration—superabundant at times, it may have been thought—which brought out in high relief the leading theme he sought to impress upon the understanding or the conscience. His preparatory labours for the work which lay before him must have been assiduous, for he seldom spoke in public what he had not previously written, and it may be assumed that during the course of a ministry extending over something like a quarter of a century, a large stock of MSS. must have been accumulated. They are mostly written in shorthand, and it is to be devoutly hoped that some one possesses the key which will decipher them—for they contain some masterpieces of thought and expression which his numerous friends would not willingly let die.

For ourselves, we mourn his loss as a dear and intimate friend. The geniality of his disposition, without malice and without guile, easily won for him a prominent place in the hearts of those with whom he came into more than occasional contact, and commended him at once to the kindly interest of most with whom he was, as it were by accident only, thrown into company. He seldom, we may almost say never, spoke ill of those with whom he had acquaintance, and shunned, as though by a natural instinct, lowering the place of others in your esteem. On comparatively light solicitation he gave his affection to any who valued it, or even seemed to do so; and where his heart went, his trust invariably followed it. He had no reserves for himself—no suspicions of others—was uniformly and spontaneously generous in his judgments of persons, and catholic in his feelings towards many practices which might fail to command his approval. To the sick, the sorrowing, the bereaved, the unfortunate, his tenderness went forth in a yearning desire, and, where it was possible, in prompt endeavours to comfort them; and few knew better than he how to throw a sunbeam athwart the darkness of woe. In his filial, conjugal, and parental relationships it would not become us to say more of the spirit in which he recognised and responded to their privileges and their claims, than that it was such as secured for him a rich return of reverence and love.

The Liberation Society, the Peace Society, and other organised movements for ameliorating the condition of humanity, have lost in our late friend and comrade an efficient and hearty advocate of their claims. How many thousand miles he has travelled, to what extent he has foregone the comforts of his own hearth and the quiet of his home, how often he has braved obloquy and opposition, and what discouragements he has occasionally endured, we will not attempt to compute. His work on earth is done. Sorely will he be missed in many circles which his presence was wont to brighten. Death has compelled them, all unprepared for the sudden blow, to take tearful leave of his remains; but they will cherish a fond regard for his memory, as they will, no doubt, gratefully and tenderly display their condolence with his bereaved family.

THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS.

THE result of the Congressional elections in the United States is well calculated to startle the student of international politics, as well as to upset the calculations of those Americans who fondly dreamed that the party which elected Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency was destined to enjoy a perpetual lease of power. So far as the popular branch of the Legislature is concerned, the Democrats have achieved a triumph so complete and overwhelming as to prove beyond doubt that General Grant has lost the confidence of the American nation. The elements of disaffection which led to the candidature of the late Mr. Horace Greeley have had time to organise themselves; and there is now not the slightest doubt that the next incumbent of the Presidential Chair will be chosen by the Democratic party. The Republicans all along have counted upon a diminution of their majority in the House of Representatives from one hundred to twenty-five or thirty; but neither the least sanguine member of that party, nor the most hopeful Democrat who ever meditated on the chances of political warfare, could have imagined the state of things which has arisen—i.e., that the Opposition would secure a majority of seventy. This estimate, of course, includes the Independent Republicans, who are as hostile to the Administration as their Democratic allies, and who indeed are very likely to coalesce with the latter before the Presidential election itself takes place. General Grant has lost much of his hold upon the West.

The great States of New York and Pennsylvania have turned against him. Massachusetts, instead of electing the entire Republican ticket, gives a majority to the Democrats; and even the formidable and fire-eating General Butler—the impersonation of all that is aggressive and grasping in American political life—has been rejected by the State in which for so many years he has acted as chief wire-puller.

Persons unfamiliar with the mysteries of the American Constitution would naturally suppose that the passing of so decisive a vote of no confidence in the Administration would necessarily be followed by a sensible modification of the Administration itself. The President will of course continue in office until the close of his term, that is to say until March, 1877. In the meanwhile, however, he is under no constraint to make any change in the personnel of his Cabinet. He may, if he think fit, retain in power every one of his discredited colleagues; and as he will continue to command a small majority in the Senate, it is still possible for him to prevent the House of Representatives from embodying in legislative enactments the will of the country. The American Constitution was a masterpiece of human contrivance, but its defects as compared with the English Parliamentary system were never more apparent than at the present time. American Ministers are not allowed to sit in Congress. They are responsible only to the President, who may, if he please, treat them as clerks or indulge them as equals; and there is no power under the constitution which can compel him to dismiss his advisers, even after they have been formally condemned by the electoral body. The great inconvenience of a serious divergence of sentiment or policy between the President and Congress was seen during the latter part of Mr. Andrew Johnson's Administration; for it will be remembered that during that memorable period the Republican majority, in order to force the President to give effect to the wishes of the country, resorted to the cumbrous expedient of an impeachment for high treason—an expedient which at the time suggested to many persons whether the remedy was not worse than the disease. General Grant's good sense will probably prevent him from coming into violent collision with his Democratic opponents; but we have no reason to hope that he will endeavour to conciliate them by accepting so much of their programme as a really patriotic ruler might be able to adopt. Neither the personal character nor the public conduct of President Grant gives the least guarantee that, although the chief of a party, he will no longer pursue the ways of a party man.

The most lamentable fact in the politics of the United States is the extinction of that class of statesmen who formerly shed lustre on the Republic, and made its name respected in distant countries. The race died out with Charles Sumner, whose successor may be looked for in vain among the mediocrities who now throng the halls of Congress. We are not so foolish as to despair of America because of the decline of her public men. The times have not been favourable to the growth of a new order of statesmen. The Republicans until now have been so powerful, that no man outside of their own ranks has had an opportunity of qualifying himself for the service of the nation. And if the truth must be told, since the negro question was settled, there has been no cause or controversy of a nature to summon the man of the future from the obscurity in which he is hidden. The Democrats were for many years a justly discredited and hopelessly vanquished party. Great odium naturally attached to them from their complicity with that pro-slavery policy which culminated in rebellion and civil war; but it is only fair to remark that a minority, including General Grant himself, were "faithful among the faithless found," and loyal to the cause of impartial freedom. They have once more gained the ear of the country. Disgusted with corruption in high places, with official opposition to civil service reform, and with the anarchical condition of New Orleans and other populous centres in the Southern States, the American people have decided to give the ostracised Democrats a chance of reforming the State. The great revulsion of public sentiment which has taken place practically involves the break-up of the Republican cohorts. The enormous secession which has already joined hands with the Opposition, will exercise a very moderating influence on the counsels of the Democratic party. We therefore do not apprehend that a reactionary policy will be pursued at the South—we mean reactionary in the sense of imposing disabilities on the negroes while removing them from the whites. It is too early to speculate upon the prospects of free-trade—for Pennsylvania would scarcely have elected sixteen Democrats out of

its twenty-seven members, if it had believed that Protective tariffs were in danger. Before the American people are prepared for a free-trade policy, the public mind must be thoroughly educated on the subject, and such education has never yet been attempted by men of sufficient mark or on anything like an adequate scale. But we believe that the triumph of the Democrats will lead to a more active foreign policy. They are thoroughly committed to the recognition of the independence of Cuba; and as the President personally is said to be very favourable to the Cubans, although his Secretary of State has steadily upheld the non-intervention policy, it is probable that a Democratic Congress will succeed in having its own way on that question. Amid all the uncertainties of the future, one thing is certain. It is that the third-term movement is dead beyond hope of resurrection, and that those who regarded with dismay the proposal for the triple election of General Grant may be comforted by the reflection that in March, 1877, he will no longer occupy the White House. It is possible that the President may have had an inkling of the collapse which has now taken place, for on the eve of the elections he mildly repudiated the suggestion, which had already greatly damaged the prospects of the Republican party.

DEATH OF THE REV. G. W. CONDER.

We have to deplore the loss of a rarely-gifted Christian minister, and a powerful champion of the great principles of Nonconformity and Liberalism. In the prime of a vigorous intellect, and the unabated warmth of a large heart, George William Conder's career has suddenly closed. He has received the call to "come up higher." He had not quite completed his 53rd year. He was born at Hitchin, in Hertfordshire, November 30, 1821. His father was a substantial tradesman in a thriving business. He received his boyish education at the Grammar School of the town, at a time when the schoolboy had literally to learn the battle of life—particularly when, as in his case at the time, bodily vigour suffered from weak health. On Sundays his father drove over with his family, little George included, to worship at the old rustic chapel at Wymondly. His aptitude for Christian work was manifested early in his youth; but he first quitted home to enter a business house in the City of London, when he became an attendant on the late Mr. Binney's ministry, and a member of the King's Weigh House Church. Here he had ample opportunity of cultivating his talent for Christian usefulness. Especial mention may be made of the school in which he took a class—emphatically what would now be called a "ragged school." A fact we have heard from his lips may give an idea of the raw material on which the teachers had to work. A boy (presumably a sweep) having been guilty of a grossly defiant demonstration, Mr. Binney approached him and raised his hand for the well-merited blow. Ere the hand could descend, the lad had dived between the pastor's stalwart legs, and was lost in the chimney. Nothing more could be done with the school that evening, as may be well imagined. Mr. Binney had too just a discernment to be long in seeing that there was no common ability in young Conder. One of the earliest hints of such appreciation was at a prayer-meeting, where after one of his most admirable addresses he called on the young disciple to offer prayer. On another occasion, at the close of service, on Sunday, he fixed his eye on the subject of our notice, who stood in the gallery, and with a look that was law pointed to the vestry. Met in the vestry he bent on the young man a searching gaze, prolonged until it became insupportable. "Do you think you have a call to the ministry?" The modest candour and Christian earnestness of the reply confirmed the result of the ocular scrutiny. Mr. Binney became his wise and valued counsellor in the preparation for and commencement of that ministry which has been blessed for now near thirty years. He discerned in him a spirit of too vigorous and well-balanced growth to need the cramps of the formal dogmatism then so general. "Sir, you will find you have to take your Bible and make your theology out of it for yourself. That was what I had to do." Mr. Conder entered as a student at Highbury College, and in 1845 was called to a co-pastorship at High Wycombe, Bucks. Thence he accepted the invitation to the pastorate at Ryde in the Isle of Wight. It was soon after his settlement there, viz., in 1847, that he married Miss Swallow, the attachment dating from his years at Hitchin, and the union, which his death has sundered, making, as he lately expressed it, the sunshine of his life. The children of the marriage were four sons and four daughters, of whom all save the eldest daughter survive. In 1849 he was led (not without careful seeking of counsel and guidance) to take the pastoral charge of Belgrave Chapel, Leeds, vacant by the death of Dr. Hamilton. Here he spent the largest portion of his active life, achieved his largest measure of work, and surrounded himself with a numerous circle of warm friends, with whom his name is a living power. As a minister, a lecturer, and a public-spirited townsman, he wielded an influence of which the results endure. A lecture of his effectually roused attention to the sanitary state of Leeds, and led to the town

council taking measures to improve it. He may fairly be said to have set in motion the tide of improvement in the streets and buildings of the town. With the working classes his manly simplicity, true kindness, and pungent humour gave him great weight, and with young men especially his teachings and influence was marked. He was a lecturer at the Philosophical Society, president of the Mechanics' Institute, an earnest advocate on platform and in press of education, and the standard principles of Nonconformity and Liberalism, and stood forward as the staunch champion of the Liberation Society, and the Peace Society—a position he has effectively held to the close of his life. As a remarkable instance of the Master's blessing on his ministry at Belgrave Chapel, we may be permitted to refer to the happy change in profession, convictions, and life traceable to one sermon, heard by a then well-known infidel lecturer in Leeds—now a valued and useful servant of Christ. In conjunction with the Revs. H. R. Reynolds and William Guest, Mr. Conder compiled the "Leeds Hymn-book," which with its recently-published supplement may be deemed at the present day as comprehensive and choice a selection of psalmody as exists in our language. Nor can we omit to notice the conscientious care to acknowledge authorship when known, and to give each piece as it left the author's hand. The size of Belgrave Chapel proved a severe tax on a throat constitutionally weak. After fourteen years of successful ministry he removed in 1864 to the charge of the church at Cheetham-hill, Manchester, where he laboured acceptably for seven years. The climate and atmosphere proved at length so detrimental to his health and vocal organs as to necessitate his removal to the South of England. He felt himself no longer equal to address great congregations as a stated preacher; but after his removal he acceded to the request of Queen's-road Church, Forest-hill, to become their pastor, and settled there in November, 1871, in the neighbourhood of attached friends and kinsfolk. Here, on his recognition, he expressed himself content to abide to the end of his career, and here the not numerous nor wealthy congregation to whom he became a pillar of strength, fondly hoped to keep him for a long time, little deeming that the appointed hour was so near at hand. He found a debt of 1,300*l.*, which was ere long, through his vigorous impulse and aid, with that of generous friends, reduced by nearly one-half, and a new organ was built at a cost of 250*l.* and paid for. The third year of his new ministry had nearly closed when he was attacked with scarlet fever, from which, at the end of last week, he seemed making a decided recovery. But a change showed itself on Saturday near midnight, and all the efforts of medical skill failed to arrest the rapid sinking, which was mercifully peaceful and gentle. At the last he became unconscious, and at half-past three he "fell asleep." Such was the quiet unlooked-for close of a brave and earnest life, which, had it been prolonged, must, in medical judgment, have proved one of much suffering, and have left the ardent soul to chafe under the burden of a deeply impaired constitution. He leaves the widow whose affectionate counsels decided him, in 1871, not to relinquish preaching, the children already referred to, and the venerable father of whose declining strength he was the mainstay, and whose eyes it should have been for him to close.

We have endeavoured elsewhere to give some estimate of Mr. Conder's distinctive qualities and powers. As a companion he was the life of his society. One of Nature's true gentlemen, with a chivalrous courtesy and rare delicacy of feeling—the native outcome of Christian kindness—he combined the utmost ease of manner and a rare power of anecdote and humour. What he was on the Sunday he was on the Monday—a man of devout faith, doing all he did to the glory of God, and with a heart and life so habitually governed by piety as to know no need of disguise, nor sympathy with the affectation of pietism. Mr. Conder wrote frequently and with a facile pen for the public press, and was the author, among other books, of "Tender Herbs," a book for children which has had an extensive circulation. His musical capacity was great, and he occasionally composed pieces. As a lecturer he was eminently successful in enlisting the sympathies and keeping alive the interest of his auditors; still more so as a preacher. In the pulpit his breadth of view, depth and transparency of thought, insight into character, grave humour and deep pathos, combined with a dramatic power at once forcible and unaffected, often cast a spell over his hearers, especially the young. His intellect affected the spirituality while avoiding the hardness of the old Puritanism; his poetic heart sympathised with all that is aesthetically beautiful in Ritualism, while he utterly deprecated its sacerdotal aspects. Thus splendidly gifted, a congenital affection of the larynx made the physical act of utterance at times a source of great difficulty and pain. Latterly he was a sufferer from rheumatic gout, and sometimes his hap-piest efforts left his congregation without a suspicion that they were the effects of a brave spirit overmastering bodily weakness and acute pain. The funeral takes place to-day at Honor Oak Cemetery.

Some articles that had been used by the late Dr. Livingstone in Africa were sold by auction on Friday, and realised 28*l.* 4*s.*

The Great Eastern Railway Company has made an inspection of all its single lines, with a view to their general improvement, so far as may be deemed necessary.

Epitome of News.

The Empress of Russia will visit Her Majesty at Windsor Castle on the 28th inst. Should nothing interfere to retard the convalescence of the Duchess of Edinburgh, she is expected to arrive at Eastwell Park on the 14th inst.

On their way from Packington Hall to Sandringham, the Prince and Princess of Wales stayed for a short time at Coventry on Saturday. They had a most cordial reception, were presented with a loyal address by the corporation in St. Mary's Hall, and, after having paid a short visit to St. Michael's Church, proceeded on their journey, reaching Sandringham, accompanied by the Czarewitch, late in the evening. The prince's thirty-third birthday was celebrated there on Monday.

While at Packington Hall the Prince and Princess of Wales were entertained at a magnificent ball, which was very numerous attended. The ball-room was fitted up on the terrace, and opened into a grotto and ferneries. The Mayor and Town Council of Birmingham, with about sixty other guests from that borough, were invited.

The Irish Government has appointed the Hon. Jenico Preston to be a Commissioner of National Education in place of the late Mr. Dease. He is a Roman Catholic.

Lord Derby has been nominated as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University, and will be elected on Saturday.

Bishop Colenso has visited the Earl of Carnarvon, at Highclere Castle, upon business connected with the recent native disturbances in the colony.

The London Hospital Saturday Council, in a long report just issued, estimate their probable total receipts at 7,000*l.*, from which 1,500*l.* must be taken for expenses. The report vindicates the council against the charge of extravagant expenditure.

While near the Elstree and Boreham Wood Station on Saturday evening the Midland Manchester express parted in the centre. Two coaches belonging to the detached portion were doubled up; one passenger was killed, and several others were seriously injured.

The Rev. Brooke Lambert, vicar of Tamworth, has read a paper favouring cremation before the Tamworth Natural History Society.

The Bishop of Manchester told a temperance meeting in that city on Wednesday night that, though not a total abstainer, he had a profound respect for those who were so. But he had no belief in the assertion that alcoholic drinks were poisonous or even mischievous if taken moderately, while he made the word "temperance" cover a wider area of self-restraint than many teetotallers. He alluded to the abuse of tobacco-smoking especially.

A number of Roman Catholics have been wrecking the houses of Protestants near Lurgan.

In celebrating the anniversary of Gunpowder Plot at Halifax on Thursday night, an old cannon exploded while being charged, and injured thirteen of the fourteen persons on the spot at the time. Most of them were severely burnt about the face, and two had thumbs blown off.

Mr. Whalley, M.P., celebrated the 5th of November with the usual great bonfire on the summit of the Trevor Hills, Wrexham. The occasion was further marked by the ceremony of interring the bones of an old Welsh chieftain, which had been discovered on Mr. Whalley's estate.

By the steamer St. Osyth, which sailed on Thursday from Plymouth for Melbourne direct, a new Australian mail service, *via* the Cape, was inaugurated. The St. Osyth also carried a large number of passengers.

Lord Richard Grosvenor, M.P., brother of the Duke of Westminster, was married on Friday to Lady Beatrice Vesey, daughter of Viscount and Viscountess de Vesci, in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

Sir Andrew Lusk on Thursday, at a meeting of the Court of Common Council—the last to be held under his presidency as Lord Mayor—delivered a farewell address, in which he spoke of the Corporation with pride, and expressed a hope that it would always be maintained.

A new scheme of hiring labourers upon his Suffolk estate has been adopted by the Marquis of Bristol. He has increased wages 2*s.* per week all the year round, with cottages rent free. He has abolished the plan of giving harvest money, and will pay 3*d.* an hour overtime instead, the regular hours being considered from six a.m. to six p.m. in summer, and from eight a.m. to half-past four p.m. in winter. A month's notice to be given on either side.

There are no less than 6,000 desertions every year from the army.

THE SACRED HARMONIC SOCIETY has just issued the prospectus for its forty-third season at Exeter Hall, and in addition to those works which are annually looked for both by the subscribers and the public, there will be performances of *Solomon*, *St. Paul*, *Athalie*, Mozart's *Mass No. 1*, Spohr's *Christian's Prayer*, Macfarren's *St. John the Baptist*, and Costa's *Eli*. The season will open with *Elijah*, on Friday, November 20, the principal vocalists being Madame Alvsleben, Miss A. Stirling, Mr. Vernon Rigby and Mr. Santley. Madame Sherrington, Miss Wynne, Miss Enequist, Madame Patey, Messrs. Sims Reeves and Lloyd, and Signor Agnesi will also appear during the season. Sir Michael Costa conducts as usual, and Mr. Willing resumes his post at the organ.

Literature.

MILL'S ESSAYS ON RELIGION.*

In the review which appeared in these columns of Mr. Mill's Autobiography, we ventured to say that "the history of a deeply religious nature without a religion is the 'real history of Mr. Mill's inner life.'" The present volume abundantly confirms the estimate then expressed of what Mr. Mill was, not as a logician, a philosopher, or a politician, but as a man. We see in it one of the strongest proofs that a sceptical age has yet had given to it, that the "dry light of intellect" is a light in which the human soul, in all the moments of its deepest and truest life, cannot and will not live; that the longing to penetrate the mystery of the past and the future, to know "Whence came I?" and "Whither am I going?" is not the restless curiosity of the mind alone, but is the yearning of the heart of man, too great for time to satisfy, for some one abiding reality, nobler and better than man, on which he may build his own transient and weary life. Not even Mr. Mill's early education, enormous as must have been its power over him; not all the cold, hard drill his father made him go through before he was out of his teens—drill that would have turned a less rich and noble nature into a mere intellectual machine and nothing more—could destroy the deep instincts of his spiritual nature. He is only another proof, added to the numbers which every age furnishes of the profound truth of Augustine's words, "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our heart is unquiet until it rest 'in Thee.'"

It is this feature, the half-uttered and yet wholly unsatisfied yearnings to which this volume bears witness, that will make it equally disappointing both to those who differed least, and to those who differed most widely from Mr. Mill. The materialist, whose only god is Nature, and whose only worship is her praise, will be startled to find the torrent of curses Mr. Mill heaps on Nature and her ways to man. Here, for example, is a passage which in vividness of rhetorical power is hardly equalled in any other of Mr. Mill's writings:—

"In sober truth, nearly all things which men are hanged or imprisoned, for doing to another, are Nature's every day performances. Killing, the most criminal act recognised by human laws, Nature does once to every being that lives; and, in a large proportion of cases, after protracted tortures such as only the greatest monsters whom we read of ever purposely inflicted on their living fellow creatures. If, by an arbitrary reservation, we refuse to account anything murder but what abridges a certain term supposed to be allotted to human life, Nature also does this to all but a small percentage of lives, and does it in all the modes, violent or insidious, in which the worst human beings take the lives of one other. Nature impales man, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, burns them to death, crushes them with stones like the first Christian martyr, starves them with hunger, freezes them with cold, poisons them by the quick or slow venom of her exhalations, and has hundred of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of a Nabis or a Domitian never surpassed. All this Nature does with a most supercilious disregard both of mercy and of justice, emptying her shafts upon the best and noblest indifferently with the meanest and worst; upon those who are engaged in the highest and worthiest enterprises, and often as the direct consequence of the noblest acts; and it might almost be imagined as a punishment for them. She mows down those on whose existence hangs the well-being of a whole people, perhaps the prospects of the human race for generations to come, with as little compunction as those whose death is a relief to themselves, or a blessing to those under their influence. Such are Nature's dealings with life. Even when she does not intend to kill, she inflicts the same tortures in apparent wantonness. In the clumsy provision which she has made for that perpetual renewal of animal life, rendered necessary by the prompt termination she puts to it in every individual instance, no human being ever comes into the world, but another human being is literally stretched on the rack for hours or days, not unfrequently issuing in death. Next to taking life (equal to it according to a high authority), is taking the means by which we live; and Nature does this too on the largest scale and with the most careless indifference. A single hurricane destroys the hopes of a season; a flight of locusts or an inundation desolates a district; a trifling chemical change in an edible root starves a million of people. The waves of the sea, like banditti, seize and appropriate the wealth of the rich and the little all of the poor with the same accompaniments of stripping, wounding, and killing as their human antitypes. Everything, in short, which the worst men commit either against life or property is perpetrated on a larger scale by natural agents. Nature has Noyades more fatal than those of Cæsar; her explosions of fire-damp are as destructive as human artillery; her plague and cholera far surpass the poison cups of the Borgias. Even the love of 'order' which is thought to be a following of the ways of nature is in fact a contradiction of them. All which people are accustomed to deprecate as 'disorder' and its consequences is precisely a counterpart of Nature's ways. Anarchy and the Reign of Terror are overmatched in injustice, ruin, and death, by a hurricane and a pestilence."—Pp. 28–31.

* *Three Essays on Religion.* By JOHN STUART MILL. (London: Longmans and Co.)

Such is the estimate Mr. Mill has formed of Nature, and we have given the quotation, long as it is, because it expresses one of the elements that helped to form Mr. Mill's conception of God, and to which we shall refer presently. But if the materialist will turn away in disgust at the brutal force that was what Nature meant to Mr. Mill, his own most devoted disciples, the thorough-going adherents of the utilitarian philosophy, will not be less startled to find him placing among the most fruitful factors of good in human life, the hope of an immortal life beyond the grave, and the contemplation of the character of Christ, producing an "endeavour so to live that Christ would approve our life" (p. 255). Whilst the Christian who is not ashamed to confess how much he had found in Mr. Mill's writings both to reverence and admire—the superstructure being often as fair as its foundation was rotten—will come away from these essays, and especially from the last, lamenting only more than he wonders, that it was possible for so gifted and pure a spirit to have lived and died with an imperfect and utterly unworthy conception of the glory of the revelation of God in Christ Jesus.

It does not indeed appear, from anything that we read in these essays, that Mr. Mill even really understood Christianity at all. It is true he gives to the character of Christ an ungrudging and unique admiration, speaking of Him in the following words, which have already been widely quoted:—

"The most valuable part of the effect on the character which Christianity has produced by holding up in a Divine Person a standard of excellence and a model for imitation, is available even to the absolute unbeliever, and can never more be lost to humanity. . . . And whatever else may be taken away from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left, a unique figure, not more unlike all his precursors than all his followers, even those who had the direct benefit of his personal teaching. It is of no use to say that Christ as exhibited in the Gospels is not historical, and that we know not how much of what is admirable has been superadded by the tradition of his followers. The tradition of followers suffices to insert any number of marvels, and may have inserted all the miracles which he is reputed to have wrought. But who among his disciples or among their proselytes was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? . . . About the life and sayings of Jesus there is a stamp of personal originality combined with profundity of insight, which if we abandon the idle expectation of finding scientific precision where something very different was aimed at, must place the Prophet of Nazareth, even in the estimation of those who have no belief in his inspiration, in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast."—Pp. 253, 254.

We need not say how heartily we rejoice to find Mr. Mill had got even thus far in his estimate of the central figure of the Christian faith, but the words that almost immediately follow tell us only too plainly how inadequate that estimate was when judged solely by Christ's own words concerning Himself:—

"To the conception of the rational sceptic, it remains a possibility that Christ actually was what he supposed himself to be—not God, for he never made the smallest pretension to that character, and would probably have thought such a pretension as blasphemous as it seemed to the men who condemned him—but a man charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God to lead mankind to truth and virtue."—P. 255.

Such an assertion as the one we have italicised above, and made by a writer so studiously fair as Mr. Mill, could only have arisen from a totally defective acquaintance with the character of Christ Himself; in fact, the same strange ignorance of Christianity shows itself in the following statement—a statement that is hard to be understood whatever modifications or explanations be supplied:—

"It may be doubted whether Christianity is really responsible for atonement and redemption, original sin and vicarious punishment; and the same may be said respecting the doctrine which makes belief in the divine mission of Christ a necessary condition of salvation. It is nowhere represented that Christ himself made this statement, except in the huddled-up account of the Resurrection contained in the concluding verses of St. Mark, which some critics (I believe the best) consider to be an interpolation."—P. 114.

After this we are not astonished to read that "miracles have no claim whatever to the character of historical facts, and are wholly invalid as evidences of any revelation," and that "St. Paul, the only known exception to the ignorance and want of education of the first generation of Christians, attests no miracle but that of his own conversion, which of all the miracles of the New Testament is the one which admits of the easiest explanation from natural causes" (p. 239, and note).

But it is Mr. Mill's idea of God that gives to these essays what appears to us at once their greatest weakness and their greatest value in revealing what, in Mr. Mill himself, was the secret of that weakness. Rejecting, as might have been anticipated, all *a priori* theories of the origin of the idea, Mr. Mill admits that "the adaptations in Nature afford a large

"balance of probability in favour of creation 'by intelligence' (p. 174), a probability, so high, that Mr. Mill accepts it as sufficient to warrant his own belief in God. But in what sort of a God does this same argument from Nature warrant us believing?"

The answer Mr. Mill makes to this question, an answer repeated in various forms again and again in these essays, appears to us not only utterly untenable by any believer in the Christian revelation—of that there can be no doubt—but utterly irreconcilable with any lofty Deism whatsoever. It is virtually this—Nature can be shown, as in the extract we have already quoted, to be full of cruelty, ignorance, mistake; she bungles, at best, in her arrangements; her adaptation of means to an end is only a confession of weakness; the state of things around us is far from being the best possible state—it is full of anomalies, contradictions, miseries, mistakes; it follows, therefore, that however benevolent the God Nature warrants us in believing in, may be, he is far from being either omnipotent or omniscient; in fact both his power and his wisdom are very limited:—

"If the motive of the Deity for creating sentient beings was the happiness of the beings he created, his purpose, in our corner of the universe at least, must be pronounced, taking past ages and all countries and races into account, to have been thus far an ignominious failure" (p. 192). "Not even on the most distorted and contracted theory of good which ever was framed by religious or philosophical fanaticism, can the government of nature be made to resemble the work of a Being at once good and omnipotent."—P. 38.

The solution of the paradox is this—God was limited by the forces of nature. He had to deal with, forces apparently as eternal as Himself, and consequently this world, whilst the best world possible under the conditions imposed on its Creator, is far from being the best possible world. Our business as well as our interest is to do all we can to co-operate with Providence in improving this life, in endeavouring to make it come somewhat nearer fulfilling the purposes of its Creator, in other words "we can help God," and "requite the good" he has given by a voluntary co-operation "which he, not being omnipotent, really needs" (p. 256).

It hardly needs to be pointed out that Mr. Mill's theory of creation is fundamentally the same as the old Gnostic one, itself a part of the dualism inherent in all Eastern theosophic speculation; and as that theory failed to satisfy the intellect of the world, Mr. Mill's will fail too. And fail, as we think, not merely on account of the moral contradictions which it involves—for it belies all that is highest and best in our idea of God, and leaves us uncertain whether, in the struggle between good and evil, victory may not finally be on the side of evil, and God have to confess Himself overcome by the intractable forces with which He has to deal—but also because the whole of it is built on the vicious foundation of the utilitarian theory of the Divine government of man. Of course, if it be true, as Mr. Mill says, that "there is a preponderance of evidence that the Creator desired the pleasure of His creatures" (p. 191)—an assertion, by the way, that, tested by the facts of human life, apart from Revelation, is at least very doubtful—if human happiness, as distinct from human goodness, was the object of the Creator in calling man into being, then there is no escape from Mr. Mill's theory of a Creator impotent to secure the greatest happiness of the greatest number of His creatures, however His benevolence might desire it. But if, on the other hand, the supreme end of man's creation be his goodness, and his happiness only so far as it may be involved in his goodness; if moral likeness to his Creator be the sole purpose of his being, then it by no means follows that we are competent to judge what would be the best means, even in the hands of Omnipotence, to promote that end. For all we know, pain and suffering and the thousand ills of life may be the only means by which Infinite Power could secure the accomplishment of the "chief end of man," his participation in that which is the glory of God Himself, His holy and self-sacrificing Love. If it be said that to speak of Infinite Power being limited at all is a contradiction in terms, the answer is simple enough. The contradiction is purely verbal, and nothing more; for the moral limits to the Omnipotence of God, limits determined by His own infinite righteousness and love, are not only not incompatible with Omnipotence, but form its everlasting glory and majesty. And, once given such a creature as man, the problem is not whether this world and the course of nature would not have been different, if God were Omnipotent, but whether they could have been different, if God's Omnipotence had any end in man's creation beyond his happiness. Of that question, as we have already said, we are not competent judges. Mr. Mill's idea,

however, of a benevolent God, trying to do his best with limited resources and limited wisdom, will at least accomplish one good result that its author little dreamed of or desired: it will serve as a beacon to warn men of the miserable Deism in which a utilitarian morality logically ends.

We have left ourselves no space to dwell either on the function Mr. Mill assigns to religion in the perfecting of the individual character, or on the basis on which he builds the possibility of religion. It is sufficient to say that relegating the supernatural entirely to the region of hope, as distinguished from that of belief, he finds enough in the mere hope of a future life to stimulate the imagination, and through it to enlarge the scale of the feelings and to control the practical energies of the will. What vision of an eternal world whose Divine beauty and order should realise and satisfy all man's highest aspirations, may have come to so rare a nature as Mr. Mill's from even this hope, we cannot tell: probably far more than we could conceive possible; but that humanity will ever be content to build its religion on a hope, a perhaps, that may, after all, be only the projection of the yearnings of time into the darkness of eternity, we more than doubt. The only religion that will satisfy the heart of man must be one that is built, not on a hope, but on a faith that has seen in Christ the personal and historic revelation of God to man, and beholding Him has cried, "Lord! to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."

WILLIAM BLAKE.*

William Blake has been a puzzle to two generations, not to speak of his immediate contemporaries, who, for the most part, got rid of the difficulty by writing him down mad. Gradually, the more he has been studied, the more has criticism succeeded in demonstrating the existence in him of a thoroughly sane element, which issued in such gems of pure genius as gives him a claim to rank among memorable Englishmen. He was the son of a Dissenting hosier, and was born in London in 1757. He was but poorly educated—never having in boyhood, being taught anything beyond reading, writing, and counting. He used, when a mere boy, to set out on long country rambles, which he alternated with fits of devotion to drawing, which he began before he was ten—at twelve becoming a poet. He copied prints and haunted sale rooms, which probably led to his being apprenticed, at the age of fourteen, to an engraver, giving throughout the whole period much satisfaction to his master. His term finished, he studied at the Royal Academy, and soon afterwards began engraving prints for magazines. His rare originality and his wealth of ideas soon made him distinguished, and other artists found a study of his work profitably pleasant. He was on terms of intimacy with Stothard, Flaxman, and Fuseli, all of whom are said to have got suggestions from him, and wrought them out to purpose. Blake, himself, was the most unworldly of men. At an early age he began to see visions and dream dreams; indeed, his peculiarity would seem to have been that he never drew any proper line of distinction between his dreams and external realities. His mind was a real world to him—indeed, the only real world—and by it the outer world was so modified and interpreted that it can hardly be said to have had for Blake an independent existence. Many of the oddest stories are told of his domestic life; but none of them are more natural or more touching than the account of his wife—who never ceased to believe in his mission and his dreams—setting down before him an empty plate at dinner, as a hint that the money was exhausted, whereupon Blake would demurely turn from his dreams, or fantastic engravings, or wild poetic creations, to devote himself to more mechanical work which would command money the moment it was done. The self-denial, the unworldliness of his character is undoubted; and it is something that, in spite of many vagaries, his wife faithfully stood by him till the last, treasuring his bits of wonderful work, which a "Philistine" public was often shocked at and would not buy. She docilely learned the humbler details of his craft, and was ever ready to aid him; uniting in herself the various attributes of housekeeper, apprentice, and maid-of-all-work—a faithful, devoted woman. And good right had the British public to be shocked occasionally at Blake's enterprises. For just as his mind was his only world, he ignored any standard of morality, save that of his own imagination, and tossed up in most ominous comminglement the right

* *The Poetical Works of William Blake, Lyrical and Miscellaneous.* Edited, with a Prefatory Memoir, by WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSSETT. (London: George Bell and Sons.)

and wrong, the fit and the proscribed of social codes; often transforming the hideous and disallowed into symbols of great ideas. So he went from one extreme to another: the longer he lived the less amenable to any control of common sense or conventional order in his art, which finally wasted itself in vast, vague prophecies which clothed themselves in imagery the most extraordinary, astounding, and unaccountable. His processes were as peculiar to himself as were his ideas; but it would be tedious to go into detail respecting them here.

In 1863, Mr. Gilchrist published an exhaustive Life of Blake—which has led to such criticism and comment as has not yet lost its interest: Mr. Swinburne followed with his "William Blake: a Critical Essay," in which he gathered together much concerning Blake, and endeavoured faithfully to find his central and leading ideas; then Mr. Smetham contributed a most interesting article to the *London Quarterly Review*, full of sympathy and intelligence; and now Mr. W. M. Rossetti has supplemented their labours by printing some hitherto unpublished pieces, and gathering up succinctly the main incidents in his life, and analysing his qualities in a most masterly and incisive manner. This volume now before us will be hereafter the handybook for any one who wishes to know what manner of man William Blake was. It is at once loving and discriminating—not a word but bears on it the stamp of reflection and thought, assuring the reader of long and faithful study and reverent following of the footsteps of the master. Several poems Mr. Rossetti has rescued, re-edited and published. One is the "Book of Thel," which may be said in point of manner to take stand between the lyrical and prophetic writings proper, and showing some of the simple sweetness of the one, and the bewildering vagueness of the other; and "Tiriel"—a remarkable performance, which has never before seen the light; besides Mr. Rossetti has judiciously pieced together that singular series of fragments, "The Everlasting Gospel," which is full of bold weird satire, desire to look beyond the forms to the heart of Christianity itself, and to drag a daring Pantheism from its bosom. There is no coherency or basis in it, and to the logical mind it will seem a mass of raving contradictions. Yet it is not without a music and earnest depth. We think of Mr. Rossetti's words somehow in reading it:—

"Blake believed in man as a Divine emanation, an eternally subsisting revelation of the deity. Man was essentially a spirit; but in this mundane transit, invested with a body, and communicating with the infinite through the medium of the five senses, man, the free divine spirit, was at liberty to do, and right in doing, whatever his spiritual essence dictated—he was law to himself and none other law existed; and, in the mundane condition, the body, an organ and vehicle of the spirit, was rightly employed in putting into effect the spiritual desires and aspirations, which in this physical world, became necessarily conversant in many respects with physical things. Where Blake contended the body was in its severance from or substitution for the spirit."

And he goes on shortly afterwards to say:—

"To call Blake simply a madman would be ridiculous and despicable; even to call him (as some have done) an inspired madman would be most incomplete and misleading. But it may, I think, be allowable to say that he was a sublime genius, often perfectly sane, often visionary and *exalté* without precisely losing his hold upon sanity, and sometimes exhibiting an insane taint. To me this appears to be a true statement of the matter; nor do I think it derogates from a respectful and grateful acceptance of Blake's work. We have his product before us, and we are constrained to form some estimate of it. There are portions of it which not one of us can possibly hoodwink himself into receiving as the right sort of thing—we must condemn them as faulty and even heinous, according to any true standard of art. If we eliminate them as coming from the mad chink of Blake's mind, we leave undamned the far greater proportion of his works to which the same censure does not apply. But, if, on the other hand, through timorous respect and consideration for his genius, we flinch from this conclusion, we are then compelled to say that Blake in full possession of his rationality could write much that was fatuous and nonsensical. . . . In his accustomed moods he is an 'enthusiast' in the modern sense; a glorious enthusiast at whose feet we can sit in veneration and hear divine strains from his lips, and see his hand prolific in magical creations. But there are moments not unfrequent when he becomes an enthusiast in the older sense, and then we are permitted to close our ears and eyes, under penalty, if we open them, of being forced to pronounce the words of a thick-coming and contorted jargon, and the pencilled forms an indiscriminate shadow dance.

This we regard as discriminating and exhaustive; and certainly he is equally so when he says:—

"It cannot be said that Blake ever surpassed in absolutely lyric finish, the most excellent things in his earliest volume. 'The Songs of Innocence,' however, are, taken in their totality, fully up to the same mark, and they have the additional value conferred by unity of scheme and relation of parts. Some of the little poems included in this series are the most perfect expressions ever given—(so far as I know) to *labe* life—to what a man can remember of himself as an infant, or

can enter into as exciting in other infants, or can love as the essence of infancy."

All who remember, "Tiger, Tiger, burning bright," or "Passing down the valleys wild," or "The Sun does rise," will endorse this opinion. We can only afford space to quote one, "The Lamb," which will specially bear out what Mr. Rossetti has said:—

"Little Lamb, who made thee?
Dost thou know who made thee,
Gave thee life, and bade thee feed
By the stream and o'er the mead;
Gave thee clothing of delight,
Softest clothing, woolly, bright;
Gave thee such a tender voice,
Making all the vales rejoice?
Little lamb, who made thee?
Dost thou know who made thee?
Little lamb, I'll tell thee;
Little lamb, I'll tell thee:
He is called by thy name,
For he calls Himself a Lamb.
He is meek and He is mild,
He became a little child.
I a child and thou a lamb,
We are called by His name.
Little lamb, God bless thee!
Little lamb, God bless thee!"

We miss, however, from this collection "The Marriage Ring," at which we made a mark for easy reference in Mr. Swinburne's book.

THE CONTEMPORARY AND FORTNIGHTLY REVIEWS.

The *Contemporary Review* of this month is the medium chosen by Professor Tyndall for announcing to the world a very interesting and important scientific discovery. It relates to the causes affecting the diffusion of sound. It is a common experience that in some states of the weather sound travels much farther than in others. And we have most of us been in the habit of assuming that the distance attained depends almost entirely on the stillness of the atmosphere, the configuration of the earth's surface, and the direction of the wind. It has also been generally supposed that fog deadens sound; and this is a most important matter, not only to timid people groping their way across London streets on a November day, but also to sailors feeling their way up the Channel. "The cloud produced by the puff of a locomotive can quench the 'rays of the noonday sun,'" says Dr. Tyndall; "it is not therefore surprising that in dense fogs our 'most powerful coast lights, including even the 'electric light, should become useless to the 'mariner.' Fog signals must therefore be given by sound; and the Elder Brethren of Trinity House have for some time past been instituting inquiries as to the best means for making such signals effective. At their request Dr. Tyndall spent a considerable part of the year 1873 in making experiments and observations off the South Foreland. Huge steam trumpets and whistles as well as guns, and in addition the American 'siren,' were employed. Very singular and apparently contradictory results were soon obtained. The diffusion of the sound was found to depend neither on the clearness of the air, nor the direction of the wind, nor the absence of commotion. One day the signals could be heard at a distance of nearly ten miles against the wind. On the next day, without any apparent cause, they could not be heard seven miles away with a favourable wind. For sometime Dr. Tyndall was entirely nonplussed by the paradoxical phenomena he observed. But at length on a sunny day, pondering on the effects of the heat upon the water, it occurred to him that the evaporation was in all probability unequal in different areas, and that there must be ascending and descending air currents of different temperatures. Thus the atmosphere would present a number of sections varying in degrees of density and humidity. "At the limiting surfaces of these spaces, though 'invisible, we should have the conditions necessary 'to the production of partial echoes, and the 'consequent waste of sound.' Such was Dr. Tyndall's hypothesis: he was soon able to verify it not only by observation but by experiment. By a beautiful arrangement of different gases within a tube directed against a sensitive flame he was able to prove demonstratively the deadening effect of various density in the medium of sound. Not for its inherent interest only, but as a study of scientific method, this article on the atmosphere in relation to fog-signalling is one of the most striking productions of the month. The Rev. John Hunt, in an article on the "Reunion of the Churches and the Bonn Conference," expresses a belief that the Old Catholics are by no means so narrowly episcopalian as are his Anglican brethren. But we scarcely think his sanguine expectations are borne out by the sacerdotalism of such articles of agree-

ment as that on the Eucharist. Mr. W. R. Greg, in "Cassandra's Rejoinder," is not prepared to admit that his prognostications have been too dismal. He replies to Mr. Arthur Arnold, but regards the dissidence between himself and Lord Lyttelton as too profound for any profitable discussion. Mr. Matthew Arnold also replies to his critics, and triumphantly proves that the words "be" and "is" had originally the concrete significance of "growing" and "breathing." And he thinks he can destroy metaphysics by denying that these words have any other meaning now. It seems to us that this mode of reasoning is as fallacious as would be the conclusion that every man named Matthew is a special gift of God because this is the original signification of the Hebrew name.

The *Fortnightly Review*, like the *Contemporary*, opens with a scientific article of somewhat startling interest. Professor Huxley publishes, with additions, the lecture he delivered at Belfast, "On the Hypothesis that Animals are Automatic." His admiration for Descartes is well known, and it now receives additional illustration. It is shown that this philosopher had a very considerable amount of accurate knowledge concerning the relation of the senses, the brain, the nerves, and the muscles. And he believed all merely animal movements to be so completely accounted for by the chemical and mechanical changes taking place in these issues, that the attribution of consciousness to brutes was a mere superfluity of the imagination. Professor Huxley does not adopt this paradoxical conclusion; but he evidently takes pleasure in showing how much there is to be said in its support. It is demonstrable that if the spinal cord be divided consciousness is not affected by any impression on parts of the body below the severance. But if the experiment be tried on a frog, the hind legs will exhibit all the appearance of combined and apparently intentional movement. Further it is certain that consciousness cannot survive the removal of the anterior portion of the brain. But if this be removed in a frog, the animal may live for years, and exhibit all the usual mechanical actions of life, though it does nothing spontaneously. It can jump, swim, and climb over an obstacle placed before it. But it never moves unless under some special stimulus, which cannot possibly inflict any pain. This, however, is nothing. A frog is but a low creature, and one may believe anything of it. But there is now living in France a man, a sergeant of the army, who, in consequence of a wound received in his skull, falls periodically into a condition as paradoxical as that of the brainless frog. "He eats, drinks, smokes, walks, about, &c. Nevertheless, pins may be run into his body, or 'strong electric shocks sent through it, without 'causing the least indication of pain." On a walking-stick being put into his hands he will sometimes regard it as a gun, and go through all the actions of loading and firing, as though he were on the battle-field. The whole case is one of the most extraordinary that has ever occurred, and certainly confirms the Psalmist's feeling that "we are fearfully 'and wonderfully made." While "Cassandra" is replying to Mr. Arthur Arnold in the *Contemporary*, Mr. Grant Duff is answering "Cassandra" in the *Fortnightly*. He is not to be alarmed by the spirit of an ignorant democracy, and on this point he makes many sensible remarks. "The division into the 'upper, middle, and lower classes is purely arbitrary, is merely a loose though convenient way of 'lumping together an immense variety of social 'strata, which are again laterally divided in innumerable ways." "Curran's fleas, if unanimous, 'might, we know, have pulled him out of bed—'but they didn't." The statements made about the increase of capital in England, certainly indicate a commercial prosperity such as the world has never known before. Between 1868 and 1873, the yearly amounts passing through the Clearing-house increased "by the moderate and reasonable amount 'of two billions seven hundred and forty-six 'millions." The editor contributes a criticism of Mr. Mill's "Three Essays on Religion." It is eloquent and forcible as all his writings are. And the views maintained are very much what might be expected. It is to be continued; and, like a serial story contrives to leave off at the most interesting part, just where the writer begins to distinguish between Mr. Mill's idea of nature and that which is suggested by evolution. The number includes some memorial stanzas by Mr. Swinburne to Barry Cornwall, which, while free from the vices of this poet's muse, have all the luxurious music and grace which no one can deny to it. An article on "Free Land," by Mr. H. R. Brand, affords an interesting study, and the whole number is an exceedingly good one.

BOOKS FOR THE CHRISTMAS SEASON.

The Realm of the Ice King. By the Author of "Saved from the Wreck." (Religious Tract Society.) This volume is most elegantly got up; the cuts being of more than usual excellence—clear, brilliant, masterly. It gives an account, in an easy, popular style, of the great Polar navigators, choosing the best known and most representative men on which to hang the several chapters. And the various nations who have ventured on this quest are impartially represented; for all the maritime nations of Europe and the United States of America have furnished their contingents to the gallant band of heroes whose deeds who are here recorded. And heroic they are truly. To recite the leading names is to suggest a series of victories against the terrors of nature, such as even the records of warfare do not surpass. Frobisher, Gilbert, Barentz, Hudson, Fotherby, Baffin, Behring, Parry, Franklin, Ross, Rae, Richardson, Kennedy, Belcher, Mackintosh, Hegemann, and Heuglin—are their memories not enshrined in the map of that Polar wilderness? Here their stories are told with faithfulness, vigour, and simplicity. The theme is such as to entrance a boy—coolness, daring, and often devoutness marked the men engaged in the quest; and written as this book is, we do not fear unhesitatingly to recommend it as a boys' book, the more that we notice the story of the gentle Hans Egede and the Moravians is wisely given in it.

In *Fairy Gifts; or, a Wallet of Wonder*, by KATHLEEN KNOX, Author of "Father Time's Story-Book" (Griffith and Farran), we turn to a work of a very different order. It is pure fancy. But the author has something of the lightness of touch needed for success in this kind of work. She goes along with a playful ease, unfolding her wonders—all the time writing in a very graceful style. Of the stories we like "The Charmed Ruby" best, and we fancy this will be the opinion of the children too. The little volume is nicely illustrated.

The House on Wheels; or, Far from Home (Sampson Low and Co.), is from the French of Madame de Stolz, and is the story of a gipsy family, full of incident and good teaching, and we should think of the kind to be appreciated by the youngsters. They cannot fail to sympathise with poor Ella, the gipsy girl, in many of her troubles; and the little Adalbert, too, is very interesting. We are pleased to know that the ending is happy, and that Madame Tortebonne has a double right to her place in the story. It is written with that graphic force peculiar to French tales, and the engravings, though peculiarly French in expression and style, are yet admirably good and illustrative of the text.

Ivan Popof, the Russian Peasant: a Tale founded on Facts. By the Author of "Biddy," &c., &c. (Oliphant and Co.) This is a very attractive story, and in addition to interesting the reader in the poor Russian peasants and their children, gives some admirable glimpses of the habits and customs in that distant land. The close is touching: Ivan, moved by a strong desire, procures a Bible and reads it, then sets about teaching the Gospel to his friends and neighbours. But there were difficulties, and in an *émeute* he is shot by one of the rioters. But the seed of his teaching takes root, and his friend and pupil, Henry Russell, reaps some of the harvest. It is well suited for presentation to children, as being at once interesting and informing, and with a high motive.

The Young Missionaries. By Mrs. SEAMER, author of "Jeannie Barker," &c. (Sunday School Union.) This little story belongs almost to the same class as the above. It is readable, and full of good lessons. The scene is laid in Switzerland, and the story of Rose and André is well-told, and here and there touching. The pictures are not elaborate, but they help to an understanding of the text, and the book is altogether well worthy of recommendation.

Hermann; or, the Little Preacher. By the Author of "Stepping Heavenward." (Thomas Nelson and Sons.) This is a German story. Little Hermann—who has fallen and lamed herself for life—early shows a proclivity to the preacher's life, and after fate justifies it. The father's harshness, the mother's tenderness and wisdom, the gradual development of the characters of the children, all are well done. There is good description here and there, some humour, and occasional pathos; and altogether we feel that we can recommend the book as pleasant, and likely to attract children. The pictures are printed in colours, and, to our eye, are fairly effective.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Good and Bad Managers. By ELLEN BARLEE. (Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday.) This is a book of

three stories, and although the stories "have a moral," to which some people so pointedly object, they are admirable both in their texture and their purpose. They deal exclusively with the lower social strata. The first, entitled "The Two Neighbours," illustrates the effects of good and bad domestic management, showing how one family, by care, judgment, and religious principle, what the Americans call "faculty"—become prosperous; and another family, by the opposite of all these, sank to the dregs. The second tale, "John Mortimer's Wife," illustrates strength of character and its effects under very disadvantageous circumstances; while the third, "Bessie Buchanan's Banking Book," shows what careful and saving habits will do and the contrary also do. We should say this is just the book to be read aloud at cottage and mothers' meetings, but it is calculated to do good anywhere.

Glances through the Gates; or, Sketches of Paradise. By Rev. A. BEANLAND, F.G.S. (G. Laub.) Mr. Beanland has attempted in this work to bring together all that is known and much that has been conjectured as to our first parents, their abode, the nature, &c., of their temptation, and the nature of the heavenly paradise of the future. The author has read widely, and writes in an interesting manner and in a devout spirit, but we do not see that he has brought together or suggested anything that is new, while some scholars will feel disposed to say that he has certainly collected much that is very old. We, ourselves, should object to the literalness of many of his interpretations and the accuracy of many of his conclusions; but his work is one which no doubt many persons will find to be profitable.

The Life and Character of John Howe, M.A. With an Analysis of his Writings. By HENRY ROGERS. (Religious Tract Society.) Professor Rogers's Life of Howe needs no introduction to our readers, but perhaps this re-issue of it in a changed form does need such introduction. We are exceedingly glad that the Religious Tract Society have brought it out. The work itself is a masterpiece of biography, and we know scarcely any writing of its kind equal to the subtle analysis of Howe's character in the eleventh chapter. If Sheldon could have looked forward two hundred years and seen the relative positions which he and Howe would occupy!

Stories of the Old Romans. By the Author of "Tales of Heroes and Great Men of Old." (Religious Tract Society.) We believe that very little time is spent in modern middle-class and popular schools in teaching anything about either Roman or Grecian history, but there should be time to allow of at least such a book as this to be read. We have here some of the old legends as well as something of authentic history from the time of Æneas to the time of Julius Cæsar. The author, however, is careful to state what is legendary. He writes in a plainly intelligent style, and his book is very readable. The sketches, however, are just a little too brief, wanting somewhat in fulness of detail, especially regarding laws and characters and the moral is too obviously tacked on. Mr. Moyr Smith's illustrations are very boldly conceived.

A Year in the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia. By F. W. CAMPBELL, &c. (Geelong: George Mercer; Melbourne: George Robertson.) Australia beginning to send its books to us to review! We are glad to receive one, and hope it is one of the precursors of a rich native literature. This work has, however, a value independent of the fact that it is the production of the Australian press. It has interest as a book of travels, of missionary literature, and of scientific knowledge. Mr. Campbell writes under the title we have given, but three other authors are also contributors. Mr. A. J. Campbell, of Geelong, gives an account of the early history of the New Hebrides Mission; Dr. McDonald writes a narrative of the voyages of the Dayspring—the Presbyterian missionary ship—and Baron Von Mueller contributes a paper of great value on the "Phytography of the New Hebrides." Mr. F. A. Campbell's own contribution strikes us, in some respects, as the most interesting of these. His narrative is the lively record of an observant, energetic missionary, and is particularly valuable for its vindication of the results of Christian missions, as well as for its exhibition of the natural capabilities of the New Hebrides. He exposes, also, the character of the coolie-trade, and, as he says, "entirely demolishes" Mr. Anthony Trollope's justification of the trade "on account of its civilising and Christianising effects." We thank him for this, and scientific men will not less warmly thank Baron Von Mueller

for his admirably classified and descriptive lists of the vegetation of these islands.

Waiting and Working; or, from Childhood to Womanhood. By Mrs. G. S. REANEY. (Henry S. King and Co.) Mrs. Reaney has written a good tale—good in composition, good in style, good in purpose. Some people would call it "goody," but the author knows what that means and so do we, and it is not that. The principal characters are two young ladies of the little village of Wintelthorpe—one who has thrown herself into the Master's work, the other just waking to ask herself what is the meaning of life, and what is to be this human life to her. This questioning ultimately develops into working. The other characters are various, sketched sometimes, but not always with originality, but Mrs. Morrison and Daniel Wilton are drawn with considerable power. By-the-by, Wintelthorpe, in common with a good many other villages, seems to have been a good deal afflicted with fever. Should not our two heroines, or the clergyman, the doctor, and the squire, at least, have attempted something in sanitary reform? There is—or there may be—religion here as well as in holding cottage meetings.

The Village Surgeon. By ARTHUR LOCKER, author of "Sweetheart," &c., &c. (Sampson Low and Co.) Mr. Locker has dramatic faculty and some imagination; but the form of this work has led him to be, in our idea, rather stilted and affected at times, and this not so much in mere style as in conception. This very notion at the outset of the Village Surgeon having invented invisible ink, by which he sets himself free from the fear of his thoughts being seen by others, is a sample of what occurs frequently through the book. This just simply imparts a false note—you at once feel the book is "made up." But now and again we have delicious touches—sometimes of quiet naïve humour, sometimes of pathos, and the book is made a medium for much wise observation on men and things. The Hartlands and Judds are good characters. We fancy that if Mr. Locker would choose a wider canvas,—not crowding it with characters, but yet keeping it in sufficient atmosphere, and ridding himself of any self-imposed keynote, he would write a very interesting novel of common rural life. We have read this volume with much pleasure, admiring the rare grace and literary dexterity apparent in it everywhere. As a piece of writing it is very admirable.

Gleanings for Invalids: A Companion for the Sick Room. (Religious Tract Society.) The idea of this book is very good, and it is fairly well carried out here. The little daily headings are in admirable tone, and the selections of hymns—which might have been slightly increased—is very good. It may supply a much felt want in many cases; and we sincerely wish it the success it deserves, believing as we do that calm rest of mind, derivable often only from such a source as this after the Bible itself, is one of the greatest blessings for the sick, and may often be a potent help to cure.

Miscellaneous.

Irish farmers seem to be prosperous. A Waterford paper states that within the past fortnight, four farmers' daughters residing within six miles of Carrick got married, their united marriage settlements amounting to 3,800*l*.

THE RAILWAY FARE QUESTION.—A lengthy statement has been issued by the Midland Railway directors respecting the proposed abolition of second-class fares and the reduction of the first-class rate. Their general object is to show that these changes are to the interest of the public and the shareholders alike, and that they are likely to increase both the number of travellers and the amount of the receipts. The directors, however, will not carry out the plan until it has been more fully discussed, and they accordingly invite the shareholders to a meeting on the subject, to be held on the 17th inst. The directors of several other railway companies had previously passed a resolution to request the Midland board to suspend action in the matter.

LORD MAYOR'S DAY.—The Lord Mayor's show was on Monday witnessed by an enormous number of spectators. The weather was beautifully fine, and as the equipages conveying the new chief magistrate and his predecessor passed through the crowded streets they were warmly received by the people. The procession started from Guildhall about half-past one, and in its progress through the ward of Bassishaw, of which Lord Mayor Stone is the representative in the Court of Aldermen, a halt was made near a splendidly-decorated dais near St. Michael's Church, where his lordship received an address of congratulation. On reaching the Court of Exchequer, the Lord Mayor was presented to the judges by the Common Serjeant, who supplemented a brief sketch of his lordship's career by an

allusion to the public services of Alderman Sir Andrew Lusk, M.P., during his year of office. The Lord Chief Baron expressed the pleasure with which he welcomed the Lord Mayor, and referred at some length to the projected reforms in the local administration of the metropolis, paying a high tribute to the educational, charitable, and sanitary work which had been carried out by the Corporation of London. In the evening the usual civic banquet took place at Guildhall, and amongst the speakers were the Duke of Cambridge, Mr. Disraeli, the Marquis of Salisbury, Mr. Ward Hunt, and Mr. Cross.

AS IT OUGHT TO BE.

"I visited" writes Dr. HASSALL, "Messrs. Horniman's Warehouse, and took samples of Tea ready for consignment to their AGENTS, & on analysis I found them PURE, & of superior quality."

"At the Docks, I took samples of Horniman's Teas, which I analyzed, & found PURE; the quality being equally satisfactory."

"I purchased packets from 'Agents for Horniman's Teas,' the contents I find correspond in PURITY and excellence of quality, with the tea I obtained from their stock at the Docks."

2,248 AGENTS—Chemists, Confectioners, &c.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

[A uniform charge of One Shilling (prepaid) is made for announcements under this heading, for which postage-stamps will be received. All such announcements must be authenticated by the name and address of the sender.]

BIRTH.

RUSTON—Nov. 9, at Monk's Manor, Lincoln, the wife of Joseph Ruston, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

PARKER—RYDER.—Nov. 7, at John-street Chapel, Bedford-row, London, by the Rev. E. Medley, B.A., assisted by the Rev. Thomas Ryder (Nottingham), brother of the bride, Mr. George Parker, of Ampton-street, to Lizzie, youngest daughter of Mr. Thomas Ryder, of the North London Schools.

STANYON—BAINES.—Nov. 10, at Belvoir-street Chapel, Leicester, by the Rev. J. P. Mursell, Mr. William Stanyon, 116, London-road, to Mary, eldest daughter of Mr. Samuel Baines, Market-street. No cards.

DEATHS.

CROPPER.—Nov. 6, J. Cropper, of Dingle Bank, Liverpool, aged 77.

CONDER.—Nov. 8, at Forest-hill, the Rev. Geo. Wm. Conder, minister of the Queen's-road Congregational Church, in his 53rd year.

WEBB.—Oct. 26, of scarlet fever, at Bloomfield, New Jersey, R.L., Millie Knevit, only daughter of John M. and Amelia A. Webb, aged 3 years 4 months. Also, Oct. 28, of scarlet fever, at the same place, Amelia A., wife of John M. Webb, and daughter of the late Lieut. Thomas L. Knevit, R.N.

STEWART.—Nov. 3, at Branbridges, near Tonbridge, the Rev. Alex. Stewart, late of Holloway, and formerly of Barnet, Herts, in his 85th year. Friends will kindly accept this intimation.

FUNERAL REFORM.

The LONDON NECROPOLIS COMPANY conducts Funerals with simplicity, and with great economy. Prospectus free.—Chief Office, 2, Lancaster-place, Strand, W.C.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending on Wednesday, Nov. 4, 1874.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT
Notes issued £35,427,160
Government Debt. £11,015,100
Other Securities .. 3,984,900
Gold Coin & Bullion 20,427,160
Silver Bullion —

£35,427,160 £35,427,160

BANKING DEPARTMENT.
Proprietor's Capital £14,553,000
Reserve .. 3,102,169
Public Deposits .. 3,736,997
Other Deposits .. 19,585,331
Seven Day and other Bills 422,318
£42,399,815 £41,899,815

Nov. 5, 1874.

F. MAY, Chief Cashier.

THE INSTITUTION FOR DISEASES OF THE SKIN, 227, Gray's Inn-road, King's-cross, is open on Thursday evenings from six till nine; the City branch, 10, Mitre-street, Aldgate, on Wednesday and Friday evenings. The institution is free to the necessitous poor; payment is required from other applicants.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—These highly esteemed medicaments cannot be too strongly recommended for curing most of the maladies to which humanity is heir. They are as suitable to the child first entering on the journey of life as for the old man tottering towards its end. The Ointment is a specific for the cuts, bruises, abrasions, and eruptions often witnessed in the nursery, and is no less efficient in healing up soundly and permanently the chronic ulcers and bad legs which so often heap misery on advanced age. The invalid who consults the "direction for use" wrapped round every packet of Holloway's preparations, may, though utterly ignorant of the cause of the malady, successfully adopt this treatment.

THE THROAT AND WINDPIPE are especially liable to inflammation, causing soreness and dryness, tickling and irritation, inducing cough and affecting the voice. For these symptoms use glycerine in the form of lozenges. Glycerine in these agreeable confections, being in proximity to the glands at the moment they are excited by the act of sucking, becomes actively healing. 6d. and 1s. packets (by post 8 or 15 stamps), labelled "JAMES FIPS & Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, 48, Threadneedle-street, and 170, Piccadilly."

DYES AND DYEING.

VIDE THE "QUEEN," JANUARY, 1874.

JUDSON'S DYES.

A LOVE of BRIGHT COLOURS is doubtless inherent in the human breast. The rainbow was adopted in Holy Writ as the symbol of a message sent from heaven. And from the earliest time we find man seeking to perpetuate these gorgeous colours that he loves, his natural genius leading him to the discovery of pigments and their application.

Perhaps the most noted of all dyes in ancient times was the Tyrian purple. Our own ancestors do not seem to have known much of any process of dyeing. As time passed on, however, the art of dyeing grew, and discoveries in other countries brought new materials to its aid. Thus we got indigo, logwood, querciton, Brazil wood, cochineal, sumach, fustic, and other substances too numerous to mention here. With all this, the machinery of dyeing has ever been looked upon as a process more or less complicated and the business of a special trade. It was hopeless to think of doing it for oneself. Besides, the dyeing of stuffs takes place so early in their manufacture that the colours with which they thus become provided are, so to speak, part and parcel of their natures. How great then the gain to be able to transform whatever we possess into other more pleasing hues. Yet this without exaggeration can be obtained by means of a simple scientific process, recently made known. With JUDSON'S new dyes, people may dye for themselves quickly and effectively without the intervention of any outside aid.

The boon is really great. Ladies can now give a new tint to the dress that is faded, or whose colour they always much disliked; soiled ribbons will come out as good as new; old feathers be brightened up like birds in spring time; worn-out tassels, frayed fringe, dirty lace, and decayed stuffs of all sorts may be altogether changed in character, emerging from the duller forms, like butterfly from grub, to enter a new and brighter life. The method of using these dyes is extremely simple. First take an earthen basin filled with a gallon or two of boiling water; in this the article to be dyed is soaked for a couple of minutes, then removed with a stick. As soon as half a bottle of dye has been poured into the water the goods are replaced in the basin, which is now a dye bath, and to which a little starch may be usefully added. Next, with a stick in each hand, move the cloth or whatever you may have in the dye bath briskly about, so that the colour may be evenly deposited over the whole; and, if the shade of colour be not as deep as required, add more dye. As a general rule, saturation from five to fifteen minutes will be sufficient for any kind of goods, but if a large vessel be employed, the articles may remain till they have absorbed all the colouring matter in the water. Of course, the larger the article, the more plentiful must be the supply of water. It must be remembered, too, that while additional dye is being thrown in, the goods must be lifted out of the bath. Such, briefly, is a description of the process, by means of which it is affirmed that there will be little or no difficulty in dyeing almost any article of silk or woollen manufacture. As a specimen of treatment, let us take the case of ribbons or silk; these should first be brushed with soap and water, so as to cleanse them thoroughly and remove all creases. Dye them in the manner indicated above, and to dry the ribbon, wrap them tightly and smoothly round a bottle, which must afterwards be filled with hot water and put near a fire. The materials which may be subjected to the dye process are very various: all stuffs, as has been said already, but, in addition, new tints may be given to candles, croquet balls, silk stockings, lamp glasses, baskets, paper, water, pill boxes, blanch-mange, and ice cream. Artists, bookbinders, undertakers, carpenters, even zoologists and bird-stuffers, are quoted as likely to benefit by their use; and there is no doubt that the variety of tints available would seem to recommend a trial. Among others we can have sultan red, cerise, ponceau, pink, claret, and Oxford or Cambridge blues. Nor are these mere high-sounding names. One of the great recommendations of JUDSON'S DYES is the quality of the colour. All of them are excellent in tone, neither forced nor garish. The magenta is mentioned as being of great strength and brilliancy. A sixpenny bottle of it will dye 30 yards of bonnet ribbon in ten minutes, more or less. It is only fair, however, to add that the yellows are apparently less satisfactory than the other colours—at least the canary is not quite reliable, and should be cautiously and sparingly used; the blue and crimson are about the best. A hint may be given here to those of artistic taste, who are too aesthetic to approve of very decided colours. A curtain, a ribbon, or a dress of vulgar blue, common green, or staring red, may, by judicious dipping into its complementary colour, be reduced to one of those pleasing half tones which are now-a-days so deservedly fashionable. Another advantage of these dyes is their economy. A little goes a long way; a very small quantity generally will produce the desired effect, and it is amusing to contrast the price of a bottle of purple at 6d. with the 100 crowns (or £30), paid at Rome in the days of Augustus for a pound weight of the double-dipped Tyrian cloth.

But any notice of these dyes would be incomplete without a reference to the very valuable assistance they contribute to the "illuminating" art. They are wonderfully well adapted for rich deep backgrounds, their merit being the smoothness with which they can be laid on. For this process the lettering, or ornamental scroll and other work, should be stopped out by gumming cardboard or pinning on pieces of tin of the proper shape, and the dye colour laid on with a dabber, for which the best tool is a ball of cotton tied up in fine flannel. Texts required for church decoration at the Easter or Christmas festivals can be successfully executed in this way without excessive labour and with admirable results. Of course pieces gummed on can be taken off by the application of steam or damp without injuring the background in the least. Further development in this direction is much needed. We believe that Mr. Severn, Author of the "Illustrated Prayer-book" and of several illuminated works, is now trying experiments in "stopping out" patterns on paper, just as is done in lithography and copper-plate etching. The best medium so far has been found to be gum amma diluted in Benzine.

NAMES OF COLOURS.
MAGENTA CANARY BLUE BROWN
MAUVE MAROON PINK BLACK
VIOLET CERISE GREEN LAVENDER
PUCE SCARLET CLARET SLATE
PURPLE ORANGE CRIMSON GREY
OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE BLUES
PONCEAU SULTAN RED

SOLD BY

CHEMISTS AND STATIONERS.

ASK for Catalogue of Instructions how to use the Dyes for twenty different purposes.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK LANE, Monday, Nov. 9.—The supply of English and foreign wheat is moderate. We had a quiet market this morning, and sales of English wheat proceeded slowly at the prices of Monday last. Foreign wheat made in retail at the quotations of last week. Flour was dull, and prices were barely supported. Peas, beans, and Indian corn were unaltered in value. Malting barley without change, grinding descriptions have improved further 6d. per quarter during the past week. Oats were firm, and met a fair demand at the prices of Monday last. Arrivals at the ports of call are small, and prices of cargoes are the same as last week.

CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	PEAS—	Per Qr.
Essex and Kent,	s. s.	Grey	42 to 44
White fine	— to 49	Maple	45 47
" new	— 45	White, boilers ...	44 47
red fine	— 46	Foreign	43 45
" new	— 42		
Foreign red	47 46	RYE—	42 44
" white	50 50		
BARLEY—		OATS—	
Grinding	31 34	English feed ...	26 33
Chevalier	40 48	" potato	—
Distilling	39 42	Scotch feed	—
Foreign	34 37	" potato	—
MALT—		Irish Black	26 29
Pale, new	70 72	" White	25 30
" old	— 74	Foreign feed ...	26 28
Brown	54 58		
BEANS—		FLOUR—	
Ticks	43 44	Town made	36 43
Harrow	46 50	Best country	
Pigeon	50 56	households ...	31 33
Egyptian	42 43	Norfolk and	
		Suffolk	29 30

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, Nov. 9.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week consisted of 15,548 head. In the corresponding week last year we received 11,539; in 1872, 9,533; in 1871, 21,630; in 1870, 15,789; and in 1869, 11,021 head. The cattle trade to-day has been without feature of importance. Full average supplies of stock have been offering. From our own grazing districts the receipts of beasts have been tolerable good. Transactions have been on a moderate scale, at about the rates previously current. The best Scots and crosses have changed hands at 6s. 2d. to 6s. 4d. per 8lbs. From Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire we have received about 1,720; from other parts of England, about 250; from Scotland, 165; and from Ireland, about 345 head. On the foreign side of the market has again been a good show of beasts, comprising 2,680 from Tonnung, 100 Spanish, 400 Dutch, and 118 from Gothenburg. The trade has been quiet, at about late rates. As regards sheep the supplies have been rather less extensive. The trade has been firm and prices have been hardening. The best Downs and half-breds have found buyers at 5s. 10d. to 6s. per 8lbs. Calves of which a fair supply has been on offer, have been dull on lower terms. Pigs neglected.

Per 8lbs., to sink the offal.

Inf. coarse beasts	s. d. s. d.	Pr. coarse woolled	s. d. s. d.
Second quality . .	4 10 5 2	Prime Southdown	5 8 6 0
Prime large oxen .	5 4 5 10	Lge. coarse calves	4 4 4 8
Prime Scots . . .	6 0 6 4	Prime small . .	4 10 5 4
Coarse inf. sheep	4 0 4 8	Large hogs . .	4 2 4 6
Second quality . .	4 10 5 4	Neat sm. porkers	4 10 5 2

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, Nov. 9.—Moderate supplies of meat were on sale here to-day, and the trade was dull, at drooping prices.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Inferior beef . .	s. d. s. d.	Inferior Mutton	s. d. s. d.
Middling do. . .	3 10 4 4	Middling do. . .	4 2 4 0
Prime large do. .	4 8 5 2	Prime do. . . .	4 10 5 4
Prime small do. .	5 2 5 6	Large pork . .	3 8 4 4
Veal	4 4 5 0	Small do. . . .	5 0 5 4

PROVISIONS, Monday, Nov. 9.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 372 firkins butter and 4,045 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 27,137 packages butter, and 2,204 bales bacon. In the butter market the demand has been slow, influenced by the mildness of the weather, and prices generally were in favour of buyers. Best Dutch 144s. to 146s. The bacon market ruled slow, without alteration in price of Irish, but Hamburg declined 2s. per cwt., and American singled sides 4s.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, Nov. 2.—A large business has been transacted during the past week, especially in the choicer description of hops, large quantities of which have passed off the market at well maintained rates. The demand for Weald of Kent and Sussex hops is more limited, at the same time the quantity of these descriptions is much reduced, and prices, in consequence, are very firm. Yearlings continue to attract attention; the finer sorts are scarce. Continental markets are firm. Latest advices from New York report a steadier trade, with shipments to Europe falling off. Home brewers have bought more freely. Mid and East Kent £10, £12, £15 15s.; Weald of Kent, £8 8s., £9 9s., £10 10s.; Sussex, £7 7s., £8 8s., £9 9s.; Farnham and Country, £9, £10, £11; Farnhams, £10, £11, £13.

POTATOES, Borough and Spitalfields, Monday, Nov. 9.—The supplies of potatoes coming to hand are moderate and still, to some extent, diseased. The prices for sound descriptions of produce, being scarce, rule firm. Regents, 70s. to 80s. per ton; choice Yorkshire ditto, 100s.; Rocks, 60s. to 70s.; Victorias, 90s. to 110s.; Flukes, 100 to 120 per ton. The imports of potatoes into London last week amounted to 40 tons from St. Malo, 1,098 bags, &c. from Rotterdam, 263 ditto from Terwense, 27 from Bremen, 198 from Calais, 961 from Boulogne, 938 from Dunkirk, 63 from Hamburg, 11 from Amsterdam, and 2 from Ostend; 78 tons from Dahouet, and 12,070 bags from Antwerp.

SEED, Monday, Nov. 9.—There were very few samples of new English cloverseed offering; fine samples were held quite as high. French and American were offered at moderate prices, but few sales were effected. White cloverseed of choice description was held high. White mustardseed was purchased in small lots at full rates; new brown offers slowly yet, although prices are moderate. Canaryseed was scarce and very dear. New Dutch hempseed brought high rates. Winter tares were scarce, and the few samples offering realised the full prices of last week. Choice black English rapeseed was saleable on former terms. Prime English

trefoil was held at previous quotations. Sales were to a limited extent.

COVENT GARDEN, Thursday, Nov. 5.—The markets generally are very quiet indeed, and transactions moderate, the continued fine weather operating largely in keeping us well supplied with both foreign and home-grown produce.

WOOL, Monday, Nov. 9.—In the wool market nothing of interest has transpired. The business doing has been on a moderate scale, and prices on the whole have been steady.

OIL, Monday, Nov. 9.—Linseed oil has been quietly dealt in, and has given way in value. Rape has been dull and lower. Other oils have been in slow request.

TALLOW, Monday, Nov. 9.—P.Y.C. is inactive at 46s. 3d. for new qualities on the spot. Town tallow is quoted at 40s. 9d. per cwt. net cash. Rough fat has declined to 2s. per 8 lbs.

COAL, Monday, Nov. 9.—There was a good supply of house coal, which sold at last day's prices. Hettons, 25s.; Lambtons, 24s. 6d.; Hartons, 23s.; Gosforth, 23s.; Hetton Lyons, 22s. 9d. Ships for sale, 43; ships at sea, 25.

BREAKFAST.—EPPS'S COCOA.—GRATEFUL AND COMFORTING.—"By a thorough knowledge of the natural laws which govern the operations of digestion and nutrition, and by a careful application of the fine properties of well-selected cocoa, Mr. Epps has provided our breakfast-tables with a delicately flavoured beverage which may save us many heavy doctors' bills."—"Civil Service Gazette." Made simply with Boiling Water or Milk.—Sold by Grocers in Packets only, labelled—"JAMES EPPS and Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, 48, Threadneedle street, and 170, Piccadilly; Works, Euston-road, London."

MANUFACTURE OF COCOA.—"We will now give an account of the process adopted by Messrs. James Epps and Co., manufacturers of dietetic articles, at their works in the Euston-road, London."—See article in "Cassell's Household Guide."

JUDSON'S SIMPLE DYES are exceedingly useful household commodities. The process is simple, and result satisfactory, as applied to woollen and silk articles. Shetland shawls or cloths that have become yellow are good subjects for young beginners in the art of dyeing. A basin of water only required; time, five minutes! Judson's Dyes, 6d. per bottle, eighteen colours, of all Chemists and Stationers.

VALTUDO VISQUEE LIBERIS.—"A preparation known as Dr. Ridge's Patent (cooked) Food is excellent for infants and invalids. It will be found a very useful preparation for making custards, puddings, and similar preparations for the nursery and sick room."—Extract from "Cassell's Household Guide." Supplied by most chemists and grocers in 1s. packets and 2s. 6d. tins.—Dr. Ridge and Co., Royal Food Mills, Kingland, N.

MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.—Parents valuing their children's safety will avoid Soothing Medicines containing opium, so frequently fatal to infants, and will use only "STEDMAN'S TEETHING POWDERS," which are safest and best, being free from opium. Prepared by a Surgeon (not a Chemist), formerly attached to a Children's Hospital, whose name, "Stedman," has but one "E" in it. Trade Mark "A Gum Lancet." Refuse all others. Also Stedman's Food for Children, the very best without exception, making nerve, bone, and muscle, 3d. to 4s. 6d. Highly recommended by the Lady Susan Milbank, Ashfield, Suffolk, Mrs. Robinson, The Vicarage, Hollinwood, Manchester, &c. Depot:—East Road, Hoxton, London.

FITS.—EPILEPTIC FITS OR FALLING SICKNESS.—A certain method of cure has been discovered for this distressing complaint by a physician, who is desirous that all sufferers may benefit from this providential discovery; it is never known to fail, and will cure the most hopeless case after all other means have been tried. Full particulars will be sent by post to any person free of charge. Address—Mr. Williams, 10, Oxford terrace, Hyde-park, London.

Advertisements.

CITY ROYAL PIANOFORTE and HARMONIUM SALOON.—KEITH, PROWSE, and Co., having completed the rebuilding and enlargement of their premises, invite all buyers to inspect their varied STOCK of PIANOFORTES, Harmoniums, and American Organs. Specialities:—New Boudoir Model Pianette, in walnut, with truss legs on plinths, full compass, 25 guineas, the cheapest, strongest, and most elegant pianette yet produced; the Library Model Harmonium, in light oak, 25 guineas; the Gothic Model Harmonium, in dark oak, with handsome antique carving, 70 guineas.

City Depot for Mason and Hamlin's American Organs, No. 48, Cheapside.

FLUTES.—The NEW MODEL FLUTE (old fingering), for beauty and volume of tone unsurpassed, 3 guineas and seven guineas. Also Rudall and Co.'s Prize Medal Flutes, new and second-hand. A great variety of second-hand flutes of all fingerings, at KEITH, PROWSE, and Co.'s Manufactory, 48, Cheapside.

ÆOLIAN HARPS.—New Model as exhibited at the International Exhibition.—These charming instruments, vibrating with the slightest breeze, supersede anything of the kind hitherto manufactured, 26s.; or in case, with tuning key, complete £1 11s. 6d.; old model, 21s.; double harps, £2 2s. to £4 4s.

KEITH, PROWSE, and Co., 48, Cheapside. No agents.

MUSICAL BOXES by NICOLE, FRERES.—KEITH, PROWSE, and Co., direct importers, offer parties seeking really fine, well-tuned instruments, a selection of more than 400 boxes, with all the recent improvements, from £4 to £150. Buyers are requested, before purchasing, to visit the new saloons, specially devoted to the sale of these enchanting instruments, which for quality have no equal. Musical Box and Self-acting Instrument Depot, No. 48, Cheapside.

A MIDDLE-AGED CHRISTIAN seeks a RE-ENGAGEMENT as LADY SUPERINTENDENT, Housekeeper, or Secretary. Experienced. Good references. Address, H. S. T., Post-office, Hackney, E.

CONVALESCENT and SEA-SIDE HOME for ORPHANS, HAROLD-ROAD, MARGATE.

CONTRIBUTIONS are earnestly SOLICITED for the fittings and furniture of the new building and for future maintenance.

73, Cheapside, E.C.

JOSEPH SOUL, Hon. Sec.

SEWING MACHINES of Every Description. From £2 15s. to £25.

THE REGENT, £2 15s.

Simple—Silent—Rapid—Durable.

Nine samples of Work and Prospectus post free.

It is absurdly claimed for almost every Machine, of whatever description (chain, lock, or knotted stitch), that it is superior to all others, for all kinds of work.

SMITH and CO., having no interest in selling any particular machine, are enabled to recommend IMPARTIALLY the one best suited for the work required to be done, and offer this GUARANTEE to their customers:—Any machine sold by them may be EXCHANGED after one month's trial, for any other kind, without charge for use.

SMITH and CO., 30, EDGWARE ROAD (Corner of Seymour-street) AND 4, CHARLES STREET, SOHO, LONDON.

GAZE'S TOURS TO HOLY LAND and EGYPT.—NEXT PARTY leaves London NOVEMBER 15, for JERUSALEM, Jericho, Jordan, Dead Sea, Suez Canal, Suez, Trip on Red Sea and to Desert of Arabia, Cairo, Pyramids, Egypt, Alexandria, &c.: returning by Italy, Paris, and shortest route to London.

GAZE'S NILE TOURS, by Dahabeah.—NEXT PARTY leaves London, NOVEMBER 16, for ALEXANDRIA, Cairo, Thebes, Karnak, and First Cataract. The most enjoyable mode of ascending the Nile.—See "Oriental Gazette," 2d., post free, 3d.; H. Gaze and Son, 142, Strand, London.

HOME for LITTLE BOYS, near FARNINGHAM, KENT.

The Committee are in urgent NEED OF FUNDS, to provide food, clothing, education, and industrial training for the 300 destitute little boys who are now sheltered in their 10 Families. £2,000 will be required before the end of the year.

A. O. CHARLES, Secretary.

Office, 78, Cheapside, E.C.

Bankers—Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smiths, 1, Lombard-street, E.C.

EDUCATION (superior) for YOUNG LADIES, 75 and 76, FOLKESTONE-ROAD, DOVER.

This establishment offers unusual educational advantages Sound and comprehensive English, French, and German. Home comforts and the happiness of the pupils especially studied. Large house and gardens in a healthy and picturesque situation. Moderate terms. Governess pupil required. Address the Principal.

TETTENHALL COLLEGE, STAFFORDSHIRE.

HEAD MASTER—ALEXANDER WAUGH YOUNG, Esq., M.A. (London), Gold Medalist and Fellow of University College, London.

SECOND MASTER—H. C. BATTERBURY, Esq., B.A., St. Peter's College, Cambridge, Wrangler and Mathematical Scholar and Prizeman of his College. Assisted by Nine other Masters.

During the present year Eighteen pupils of the College have passed the Cambridge Local Examination, six in Honours; two have passed the Entrance Examination at Trinity College, Cambridge; two have Matriculated at the London University, both in the Honours Division; one recent pupil has passed the first B.A. at London in the first division, and another has taken a valuable open Scholarship at New College, Oxford.

For Prospectus and information as to Scholarships, &c., apply to the Head Master, or to the Rev. P. P. Rowe, M.A., Secretary, Tettenhall, near Wolverhampton.

AUTUMN TERM, from SEPT. 21st to DEC. 20th.

HOLME COURT SCHOOL, ISEWORTH, LONDON, W.

BOYS' MIDDLE-CLASS BOARDING-SCHOOL. Thorough English, Classics, French, and German. Kind and liberal treatment, and careful individual teaching.

For prospectus, with full particulars and view of premises, address Rev. Slade Jones, as above.

THE ANNUAL RECEIPTS of the BIRKBECK BUILDING SOCIETY EXCEED THREE MILLIONS.

FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS ready to be advanced by the BIRKBECK BUILDING SOCIETY on Freehold and Leasehold Securities at FIVE and SIX PER CENT. INTEREST.

Repayable by Easy Instalments.

HOW to PURCHASE a HOUSE for TWO GUINEAS PER MONTH, with immediate possession and no rent to pay.

Apply at the Office of the BIRKBECK BUILDING SOCIETY, 29 and 30, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane.

HOW to PURCHASE a PLOT of LAND for FIVE SHILLINGS per MONTH, with immediate possession.

Either for Building or Gardening Purposes.

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BIRKBECK FREEHOLD LAND SOCIETY, 29 and 30, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane.

BIRKBECK BANK. Established 1851. 29 and 30, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane.

Deposits received at 4 per cent. interest. Current accounts opened similar to Joint-Stock Banks, but without any stipulation as to amount of balance to be kept by the customer.

Cheque books supplied.

Purchases and Sales effected of English, Foreign, and Colonial Bonds, and advances made thereon.

Office hours, Ten till Four; on Mondays, from Ten till Nine; and on Saturdays, from Ten till Two o'clock.

A Pamphlet, containing full particulars, may be obtained gratis.

FRANCIS RAVESCROFT, Manager.

BRITISH EMPIRE MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, 32, New Bridge-street, London, E.C.

Established 1847.

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GRATIS.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY.

CONFERENCE AT MANCHESTER.

The important meetings for which the Executive Committee of the Liberation Society have been carefully preparing for some time past were held on Wednesday last, and proved to be completely successful. The Conference at Manchester was intended as the opening of the winter campaign; but it being the first of a series of district conferences, the invitations were, for the most part, confined to the friends and supporters of the Liberation Society in the northern and midland counties.

On the evening before the conference a large number of the society's leading friends in the Manchester district dined together at the Queen's Hotel, on the invitation of Mr. Hugh Mason, of Ashton, the chairman of the district council of the society. Among those present were Mr. Phillips, M.P., Mr. Richard, M.P., Mr. Miall, Mr. B. Armitage, Mr. Agnew, Mr. Latham, Mr. Carvell Williams, Mr. A. Illingworth, Mr. E. L. Stanley, Mr. John Moray, Mr. Ellington, Professor Wilkins, Mr. J. Slagg, jun., Alderman McKerrrow, Mr. Henry Lee, Mr. R. Leake, Mr. Joseph Spencer, Mr. Samuel Watts, Mr. Joshua Thompson, Mr. W. Crossfield, jun., of Liverpool, and Mr. Titus Salt. The entertainment was of the most *recherché* character, and the speeches were interspersed with some fine music by Mr. de Jong's band.

The conference was held in the Memorial Hall, which was admirably adapted for the purpose. Nearly 500 gentlemen attended, and in addition to most of those just named, were Mr. Joshua Leese, the Rev. Dr. McKerrrow, the Rev. A. Maclaren, the Rev. D. J. Hamer, the Rev. A. Eray, the Rev. J. A. Macfadyen, Mr. Dunkley, Mr. Thomas Roberts, the Rev. A. Thomson, Mr. Ireland, all of Manchester; Mr. George Howell, of London, Prof. Green, of Rawdon, the Rev. R. Best, of Bolton, the Rev. A. Clark, of Stockport, Mr. Brough, of Leeds, the Rev. J. McDougall, of Darwen, Mr. J. W. Wilson, of Sheffield, Mr. Carter, M.P., Mr. Hopwood, M.P., the Rev. C. Williams, of Accrington, the Rev. J. Slater, of Bury, the Rev. R. Lambert, of Wigan, the Rev. D. Loxton, of Sheffield, Mr. Nicholson, of Macclesfield, Dr. Stock and the Rev. R. Bruce, of Huddersfield, Mr. G. H. Baines, of Leicester, the Rev. Elkanah Armitage, of Waterhead, Mr. Priestley and Mr. Elias Thomas, of Bradford, the Rev. W. Griffith, of Derby, the Rev. T. Michael, of Halifax, the Rev. Hugh S. Brown and Mr. Tremble, of Liverpool, Mr. Pidduck, of Hanley, the Rev. T. Green and Mr. A. Reynier, of Ashton, and Mr. James Clark, of London.

At eleven o'clock the deputation from the executive committee, accompanied by Mr. Hugh Mason, the chairman, ascended the platform amid loud cheers, and the proceedings commenced by the appointment, on the motion of Dr. McKerrrow and Mr. Pidduck, of Hanley, of Mr. Carvell Williams and the Rev. Thomas Green, of Ashton, as secretaries of the conference.

The Chairman, after some opening sentences, said he had asked himself this question—who and what were the members of the conference, and what their objects and purpose? They were men of some position, influence, intelligence, public spirit, and patriotism; they were not secret conspirators working for the overthrow of any of the institutions of this country. They sought to accomplish their great object by means which were entirely within the law of the land. They did not seek to disturb the Queen upon the Throne. They had for the Queen as much love as any class in this country. They did not meet to destroy the great Episcopal Church of this country. (Hear, hear.) Speaking for himself, he should be extremely sorry to witness the destruction of the Episcopal Church. It contained within its fold a large number of good, honest, enlightened men and patriots; and if that great Episcopal Church were to be destroyed, it would be a misfortune for the country. On the contrary, they wished to purify and strengthen that Church by liberating it from the fetters of the State. They did not meet as a body of plunderers, seeking to rob anybody of what was their rightful property. They were quite willing that the representatives of the people should equitably adjust that difficult part of their programme, and he had not met any Liberationist who was not prepared to deal not only in an equitable but in a generous spirit with any

property which rightfully belonged to any religious body of this country. They did not meet as members of the great Liberal party of this country. Their principles were above party. He wished in this controversy that they heard a great deal less than they did of the Liberal party. The Liberal party was not the only party in this country which had passed good measures. It was the Tory Government that gave us household suffrage. ("Hear" and cries of "No.") It was the Liberal party which very recently gave them the 25th section of an Education Bill, which had done more to shatter that party—(cheers)—than any other measure brought forward by Liberals or Tories. The Liberal party brought forward that measure at an untimely moment, and passed it without that consideration which was due to that portion of the party which constituted its soundness and its strength. The Liberal party, to use the words of John Bright, passed "the worst bill ever passed by a Liberal Government." They were told that they were impulsive, rash, and irreconcilable. The Laggards always said that there had been no good political measure passed in our time—and notably free trade—when advanced men had not been told that they were destroying the Liberal party. If Villiers and Cobden and Bright had listened to the suggestions of the faltering and the timid of the Liberal party, they would have waited many a long year for free-trade. He wanted to lift, as far as he was concerned, this great measure above the muddled atmosphere of party strife. The question was too sacred and too noble to be made the football of parties in and out of place. They did not meet simply as Nonconformists. Their ranks were being constantly increased by the accession of men who did not belong to the Nonconformists. They were receiving encouragement and support from not a few far-seeing and enlightened men who belonged to the State Church. They welcomed any support which it was in the power of members of that Church to bring; but he hoped that they should never be flattered by any accession of strength they might give to them, or by any improvement of their status, but that they would keep in view the simple working out of their great principles. Standing as he did before a large meeting, consisting, as he knew it did in the main, of members of the Nonconformist communities of this country, he would appeal to them to recognise their position and their responsibilities and their power at this critical moment of our history. He thought the time had come when this great question must be made the question of the hour. He was not by any means indifferent to, or ungrateful for, the great blessings which had been conferred upon the country by eminent leaders of the Liberal party—(Hear, hear)—but he thought those who sought to lead the Liberal party of the future must not overlook that question which he believed was nearer and dearer to the minds and hearts of the great Nonconformist body of this country, and that they at all events who belonged to that body must be true to their principles and cease to be fettered by the obligations of the party. (Cheers.) He was fully aware that in certain of his statements that morning he might have displeased most estimable men connected with the Liberal party. He heard from one whom he very highly esteemed that he hated the very question of Liberationism. He was told by another that if this question was brought to the front it would destroy the Liberal party, and he heard from another, who sought to be a leader of the party, that the question was not ripe, and that the prominent advocacy of it at this moment was premature and unwise. They were then to attempt to educate the country up to their present beliefs. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Disraeli told us that during many long and weary years he had educated his party. Mr. Gladstone had thrown down to them the challenge that if they wished their question to be properly recognised in the House of Commons they must educate the country. (Cheers.) And in what way were they to do that? Were they to make it a subordinate question when would-be members of Parliament appealed to them for their votes? He thought they would be cowards and traitors to their principles were they to do that. (Hear, hear.) He did not know now what separated the two great parties in this country but this question—(Hear, hear)—and so far as he was concerned, it should be in the future, to the extent of his limited influence, the great question by which he would gauge the fitness of men seeking to be members of Parliament. (Loud cheers.)

THE NATIONAL ASPECTS OF DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT.

The first item on the programme was the reading of a paper on this subject by Mr. Miall, who was received with loud cheers. Last week we gave that paper in *extenso*, and for the sake of making our report homogeneous we now indicate its drift. After stating that the progress of the movement at the end of thirty years rendered necessary some change of method, the speaker said that it never had been sectarian, in object or in spirit, and their motive would be the same as ever; but they were now called upon to handle new weapons and to

enter into new combinations. They had always aimed at the disestablishment and disendowment of the State Churches of the realm. They had succeeded in Ireland, though their success had been, in some respects, incomplete, and they were warned against committing themselves a second time to a similar plan. It was a truly national work which was before them, and it must be presented to the people in that aspect. Apart from its bearings on religion, the Establishment of the Church injuriously affected the intellectual, moral, social, and political condition of the people. It was an obstacle in the way of popular education. It prompted the Endowed Schools Bill of last session. It had made necessary a protracted struggle to open the Universities. Much as there might be in the "educated-gentleman-in-every-parish" plea, and in the charitable activities of the clergy, looked at broadly the Church Establishment had proved demoralising, irritant, and divisive. The *congé d'élire*, the sale of livings, and non-natural subscription, who would estimate their debasing influence? Then it sets everybody by the ears, filled the air with quarrels, and inflamed all other differences. It divided the nation into two camps, and it was prejudicial to both philanthropy and patriotism. It was also politically obstructive, standing doggedly in the way of improvement, and acting as a drag on the wheels of legislation. Was it not high time to bring this aspect of the question perseveringly under the notice of the people? All grades, and especially the electors, should be made to look at it in this practical light. The time was most favourable. The bias of the age, the convulsions within the Church, and the action of Parliament, were all in favour of such an effect. They had but to increase and organise existing forces already at work, and make it a people's question—a question paramount at elections, and in the construction of Governments. A merely denominational treatment of the subject would not suffice. The scope of their efforts must be commensurate with the interests of the nation. Disendowment must also be closely associated with disestablishment. The executive committee had, indeed, done their best to secure the adoption of right principles in the disendowment of the Irish Church; but the capitalisation and commutation of clerical incomes, and the other processes which had made the Disestablished Church a rich corporation, were not at all in accordance with their views. The subject was new then, and the public were generously inclined; but there were materials for a sounder judgment now, and popular intelligence must not be misled by unfortunate precedents. Not only must disendowment be conspicuous in their programme, but they should have a well-considered scheme for giving effect to their demands. It would demand the fullest information and the most dispassionate deliberation, and the first steps should not be delayed. He, therefore, hoped that the conference would authorise the committee to apply themselves to the task—with the understanding that the society's constituency should have an opportunity of considering the scheme before it was finally put before the public. They had been told on episcopal authority that it was not the Liberation Society, but the feuds within the Establishment, which threatened its existence. Well, they did not pretend to be independent of such forces; but, perhaps, if it had not been for their persistent toil the apprehension of disestablishment would never have troubled ecclesiastical dignitaries. At any rate, they intended to go on, saturating the thoughts of the constituent bodies with their principles and their purpose. In the words and the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, they meant to "keep pegging away," content to await the issue in such time and form as God should vouchsafe it. (Mr. Miall resumed his seat amid loud cheers.)

SPEECH OF MR. JOHN MORLEY.

Mr. John Morley (editor of the *Fortnightly Review*), who was received with cheers, said he believed he was only saying what the conference desired him to say when he declared that it might be many years before the movement against ecclesiastical establishments reached its triumphant end, or it might be few; yet whether the years were many or few, none of them now living were ever likely to forget what it owed to the sobriety, the patience, the single-mindedness, and the indomitable faith of Mr. Miall. (Cheers.) They owed to him more than to anyone else this remarkable fact, that though disestablishment had long been, and they might confess even now was a rather unpopular cause, yet it had received from its adversaries a serious and respectful treatment which was extremely uncommon in politico-ecclesiastical controversy. It would be their own fault if they lost the advantages which Mr. Miall's way of treating the subject had gained for them, and the tone and drift of the paper which he had just read showed them how they might retain those advantages, by pursuing methods which should unite careful and patient augmentation with resolute faith and the common sense of practical politicians. (Hear, hear.) The resolution which he had to move was:—

The conference is strongly of opinion that the advocates of

disestablishment should increasingly aim at producing a general conviction that the interference of the State with the religious concerns of the people is productive of great political and social as well as religious evils; that the question is, therefore, one of national and not of merely sectarian interest; and that on its settlement will largely depend the future prosperity and peace of the country.

Mr. Miall had said that no merely denominational treatment of this subject would avail to bring people round. What they had to do was to persuade the great and powerful classes, upper and lower, which at present stood aloof from what they regarded as a mere conflict of sectarian interest and sectarian passion, and convince them of this simple proposition, that Establishment did more harm than good. They believed this themselves, and it was their business to persuade the constituencies to believe it, and to act upon it. The common answer that the Establishment did more good than harm was found upon examination really to involve a fallacy. All the good that was done was done by the Church as a private Christian body, and not as an Establishment—(cheers)—and the good it did would be done far better—a thousandfold better—if the Church were disestablished to-morrow. (Cheers.) They had nothing to say about episcopal discipline, or the Liturgy, or the Thirty-nine Articles. It was State interference with opinion, State patronage of doctrine, and State regulation of Church discipline; State nomination of the higher offices of the Church, and their recognition as members of the Legislature, the settlement of faith by the House of Commons, and the definition of spiritual things by Acts or Parliament. (Laughter.) These were what they protested against, and these were what were productive of not only more harm than good, but all harm and no good. (Laughter and cheers.) He should like to address himself very briefly to one or two lines of defence which were taken up by men of great culture, who, on the whole, sympathised with Liberal movements. One of these was the natural security for liberality and moderation in theology. He had a letter in his hand from a Scotch friend, who warned him that the Establishment in Scotland was the last refuge of common sense and breadth of thought. (Laughter.) One answer to this argument was that if the Establishment, in England at all events—Scotland he did not know, but he suspected his friend was misinformed—were transferred to an Episcopal sect to-morrow, every one of those teachers of moderate liberal theology would be as free as now to find congregations sympathising with their own views. Surely the English people were not so bitterly fanatical by temperament that they could not be trusted to seize a moderate liberal point of view when they had the opportunity offered them? Clearly not; because the exercise of lay patronage, in the interests of the moderate party in the Church, really took place in obedience to the force of public opinion, which demanded that that particular party should be protected; and the same protection would be extended if the Church were split up into a number of private church bodies. He would say another thing viz., that for every conspicuous Liberal theologian in the ranks of the Establishment, he would undertake to name a conspicuous Liberal theologian in the ranks of Dissent. There was a final answer, and that was that these Broad Churchmen, whom they all respected so much, had, in order to remain where they were, and to justify this panegyric on the Church of England for its mild tolerance, to strain their consciences by subscribing to articles and formularies and administering rites which they did not believe in at all, or else which they only believed in by the help of downright evasion and non-natural interpretation, which would have been a discredit to the Jesuits in their worst days. (Cheers.) The word Jesuit brought him to another point. This argument for the tolerance of the Church cut two ways; for it protected the rationalising theologian, whilst it also protected the sacerdotalising theologian. (Hear, hear.) They were not there to say one word against doctrine. Let all men move freely in spiritual things, but let them be honest. He did not think that any honest, plain man, whether Anglican or Roman Catholic or Protestant Dissenter, or one who was none of these things, could help seeing that these evasions, these non-natural interpretations, were a scandal, and that they debased those elements in the nation which honest men most value, and that they were the inevitable elements of national demoralisation. (Cheers.) Mr. Miall had referred to the plea of the educated gentleman in every parish. He had the profoundest respect for nearly all the country clergymen that he had come in contact with, and they had been numerous. He had found them good and hard-working men. But he believed, on the whole, that that plea would not hold water. The fact that they had in each parish a State official whose duty it was to take an interest in the humbler people acted as a deterrent upon the lay gentry, who would otherwise perform many of the offices which the clergy did, and would do them much better. They could not measure what discouragement to lay participation in good parish work was effected by the presence of those official persons whose duty it was to do it. He was quite sure that most people in a country parish would feel that if they interfered in good works in the parish, that such conduct was more or less an interference with the rector's duty, and he was quite sure that if the person who did ever attempt good works were a Dissenter or a Rationalist, that half the rectors in England would resent it as the greatest impertinence. (Hear, hear.) Another answer to the argument of the civilising agency of the Church was that it did not

civilise. (Hear, hear.) Their people could not read. If they read the reports of the Agricultural Children Inquiry Commission, they would see what barbarians they had in their midst; and the first persons to tell them that they deplored the same barbarism of the country parishes were the country clergy themselves. God forbid that he should say that this want of civilisation among the agricultural poor was due to the clergy! So long as the rural poor were so badly housed as they were, they could not civilise them; but he did say that, excepting the very energetic, manly, and sensible bishop of this diocese, the clergy had not, as a whole, taken their side in all measures for raising the position of the labourer. And it was quite natural it should do so. If their interests were bound up with any particular part of the existing social organisation, they were pretty sure to think that they had best leave everything exactly as it was. He had dealt with these two arguments, which probably they had never weighed much, but they weighed very much with people outside. He now proceeded to name some of the harm which the Establishment did. They might remember that flagitious Endowed Schools Bill of the last session, and let them remember also, in justice to Lord Sandon, that he was quite right—and all Liberals should remember it—when he said that he was only developing the principles which Mr. Forster himself laid down. (Hear, hear.) There was no mischief in the Endowed Schools Bill which was not prepared for by the 19th section of the Endowed Schools Act. Then there was the Elementary Education Act, but of that he need say nothing. Surely there never was a sight more fitting to move the scorn and indignation of right-minded men than that which they saw in London about this time last year at the election of the school board, where ecclesiastical dignitaries who had been free all their lives to eat and drink their fill of the banquet of knowledge came forward to advertise their grudge of the few scanty mouthfuls which were being offered to the poor. These dignitaries, canons some of them, and others, made themselves the organs of the most sordid prejudices of the most sordid souls amongst the ratepayers. He thought he might prophesy that when England awoke from the political slumber into which she had for the moment fallen, one of the first questions which the people of England would ask themselves would be this, whether it was not a worse waste of public money to maintain canons than to educate the common people? (Loud cheers.) In concluding, he should like to say one word upon the political aspect of the question. It seemed to him that for the present their work was not in the House of Commons, but out of it. (Hear, hear.) The public mind was decidedly not yet prepared for the practical treatment of the question. The *Daily News*, in an article that morning, warned the conference not to try to persuade the public that disestablishment ought to take place, but how it ought to be done. That was good as far it went; but he thought they ought to do both, and they had a great work of persuasion to do, and much seed to sow, and it was rather sowing seed than any other work that they had yet to do. (Hear, hear.) He did not think they need trouble themselves about Parliamentary leaders. He was quite sure—he hoped it was not too cynical a thing to say—that these gentlemen would take up the cause when they thought it worth their while—(laughter and cheers)—and if the men who were now in the front should fail them, if their own hearts stood fast, new men would arise who would not fail them. (Cheers.) They were in a city whose name was a good omen for the workers in an uphill course. Free trade was no doubt a great victory over stupidity and unpatriotic selfishness, but free church would be a still nobler victory. (Cheers.) Free trade was the abolition of the material monopoly, and the removal of protection in an article of food, but free church would mean the abolition of the still deadlier burden—protection in the things of the spirit. (Cheers.) No doubt they would be told by persons who prided themselves on being practical, which was English for seeing half an inch in front of their nose—(“Hear, hear,” and laughter)—that their cause was a forlorn one, and that the enterprise upon which they were embarked was one without hope. Let him say two things to these cautious and astute persons. Only seven or eight years ago there was an Establishment in a neighbouring part of this realm. They used then to warn them that the Irish Establishment stood firm as a rock, and would defy all effort, and yet their words were hardly spoken before that iniquity was cast for ever into the dust. He would also say that there were some amongst them, perhaps all of them, who were the kind of men who would rather wear out their lives in doing battle in the right cause of religious equality and spiritual freedom, even if it be forlorn—(“Hear, hear,” and loud cheers)—than acquiesce with folded arms in the wrong cause of ecclesiastical privilege, with all its seeming prosperity and all its spurious pomp. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Samuel Pearson, M.A. (Liverpool), seconded the motion. He said the great work which they had to do was not to convince themselves. They were already convinced of the justice of the cause in which they were engaged, and of its final success. He believed they should do this, not by appealing to the upper class, but by appealing to the great working classes of this country; and when once they had younger men at their back, and the working men at their back, and when they had left behind all hope of convincing the

Whigs—(cheers)—of this country that their cause was a true one, then he believed they might go more boldly to those who asked for their suffrages and demand they should take up this question before they would give them their votes.

THE HON. LYULPH STANLEY ON THE ESTABLISHMENT AND EDUCATION.

The Hon. Lyulph Stanley supported the resolution. He said they were told they ought to be quiet after the great Liberal reverse. He was not one of those who tried to explain away the fact that the Liberal party had suffered a great reverse; but he did not think that they ought to attach too much importance to the secondary causes which had led to their defeat. (Hear, hear.) He knew that the beer-barrel had a great deal to do with it—(Hear, hear)—that the Church had a good deal to do with it, and the various organisations had a good deal to do with it; but he thought in candour they ought to acknowledge that what they chiefly had against them was the apathy of the great mass of the easy-going classes in this country. (Hear, hear.) The fact was that great measures of reform had been carried during the last few years; Liberalism had made great strides; the grievances of the easy-going classes had nearly all been redressed, and the grievances yet to be redressed were, as a rule, those which were suffered by people who had not yet made their voice heard in politics. (Hear, hear.) He was not at all afraid of the ultimate success of their efforts. (Hear, hear.) They must triumph, because they had against them only great social power, great interests, and the apathy of the people, who were accustomed to existing institutions, but they had with them what was far more powerful than social power, vested interests, or apathy—they had an idea which was in harmony with the spirit of the age, and which would act as a solvent to wear away all those forces which now seemed such strong bulwarks to oppose their progress. (Hear, hear.) One of the worst instances of the working of the Establishment was this: that the Church, with its immense power and social influence, felt itself threatened, and looked round, like every threatened institution, to get support where it could; and he thought that of all disgraceful spectacles they had beheld for a long time—one of the most disgraceful spectacles, and one most ruinous to the morality of the country—was presented at the last general election, when they found men paid, supported, and honoured, and set in high places, for leading men into a truer and higher life, making an unholy alliance with a traffic to which they must ascribe the great mass of pauperism and vice in this country. He took the recent report of the commissioners upon the Universities, and examined it to see how much these colleges were spending upon the augmentations of the stipends of the clergy who held their livings. He found four colleges in the University of Oxford—King's, New College, Magdalen, and Christ Church—and these colleges were spending 20,000*l.* a-year in the augmentation of the stipends of their clergy. They would easily see why they did this. These clerical fellows took the college livings. Some of them they held, while they retired upon others, and were giving themselves extra pensions and endowments when they were restricted to give themselves 300*l.* a-year as fellows, or take the living and go. They were giving themselves college money in excess of what they ought to give themselves by the Act. And as “fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind,” they also gave clerical livings to those who were not fellows. It was a scandal that 20,000*l.*, which ought to be spent in the higher education of the country, should go in subsidising the richly endowed Church of England, but it was a still greater scandal what these colleges had left undone. In Christ Church the salary of the Regius Professor of Greek had until quite lately been since the time of Henry VIII. only 40*l.* a-year; and although it was now 500*l.*, they had been spending all these years 8,000*l.* a-year on their own livings, while the ecclesiastical professors of Christ Church had now their 1,500*l.* a-year and their houses. An obligation had been put upon Magdalen College to found four professorships for the University. The ordinance imposing these obligations came into force in 1857, and while they were spending year by year this 6,000*l.* upon augmented livings. They founded the first professorship in 1859, the second in 1869, the third last year, and the fourth was not yet founded. While spending this money so lavishly, they were abstaining from discharging their legal obligations. The conclusion he drew from these things was that they could not trust any class, or sect, or body, to act fairly and justly when the interest of that class, or sect, or body came into conflict with their duty. (Hear, hear.) If we were to have these public bodies, our grammar schools, and other educational institutions, applied for the good of the nation as efficient places of learning, we must pull out, root and branch, every element of ecclesiastical ascendancy. He would give an instance of the working of ecclesiastical influence with reference to the work of primary education. In a national school under Government inspection and receiving the Government grant, which ought to be efficient, and was stopping the way for the creation of a board school in the parish where it was, the schoolmastership had been vacant for four or five months, and though several thoroughly qualified men had applied for the situation, who, by the admission of the clergymen, would have been efficient and good teachers had been rejected and the school kept vacant because they wanted a schoolmaster who would make himself useful in the church, and who could occupy the position of

organist. (Laughter.) The average attendance had fallen from ninety to about forty; some children had to walk miles to other schools, and the pupil teachers were left without instruction, and were likely to have their careers thereby ruined. This might seem a small matter, but it was by these small instances that they could see the way in which the Church Establishment worked. They served to show how this principle of establishment did injury to the free development and activity of the nation. (Cheers.) Did they think that if the Church of England had been disestablished it would not have blushed to be seen hand-in-hand with the keeper of a gin-palace in order to return candidates pledged to support every abuse and uphold every privilege? (Cheers.) These specially-privileged interests were banded together like the American log-rollers, each of whom rolled the other's logs in the hope of himself getting a friendly shove. Meantime, the country remained unprotected and corrupted, in order that we might keep up this great monopoly of abuse and privilege. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. Pankhurst protested against the Parliamentary pre-eminence of a sect, or rather, the Parliamentary pre-eminence of a mass of sects—(laughter and "Hear, hear")—upon two grounds, first, because it was opposed to public morality, and, secondly, because it was opposed to public justice. But it was this question of protection of property which came home to the great mass of the nation. They saw an immense mass of property applied by protection of law to purposes which were not advantageous to the public weal, and contrary to the sense of right of the nation as a whole. What they really meant by protection of the property of the Church of England was that the law of the land allowed money to be given, by law or otherwise, and money to be held for the maintenance and propagation of a particular set of doctrines. That was to say, the united force of the nation was called in the form of law to give aid, advantage, comfort, and security to a particular set of opinions. Why was the Irish corporation dangerous in Ireland? It was because it had an immense amount of property protected by law, and because it was irresponsible to the public. With that enormous and standing warning before them, they must not disestablish the English Church upon an Irish basis—"No, no," and "Hear, hear"—because they must not leave them in the position of having a still vaster mass of property with a still greater degree of irresponsibility. It was disendowment which the country wanted, it was disendowment which alone could make this a truly national question, because that mass of property was wanted for the common weal. The education of the country perished for the want of this property, and the great dignitaries of the Church, who ought to be the high priests of a high and noble education, were the partisans of this demoralising state of things. The country wanted disendowment because it wanted these masses of property for national objects. This was the proposition, therefore, which lay at the heart of disendowment, and was the crucial test of the condition of disendowment—for what time and under what limitations was the collective force of the community as represented by law to allow property of any kind whatever to be applied for the protection and defence of any sect whatever? Every sect was guilty in this behalf which was protected by law unduly and contrary to the common weal. Let them build on the grand, noble, and standing grounds of national justice.

The Rev. David Loxton (Sheffield) referring to the close of the last speech, said he thought it would be very unwise to mix up the question of all endowments with the question of State endowments. If the question of all endowments were to come on he should be inclined to vote with Dr. Pankhurst, but it would be a long time before that question came on, and the question they had to consider was, What ought to be done with the property of the National Church? There was evidently a very wide difference between the right of the State to control what was public property and to interfere with what was in a certain sense private property. (Cheers.)

Mr. Alfred Illingworth pointed out that the question of disendowment would come up under the third resolution, and their discussion at present should be confined to the first. (Cries of "Vote.") The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

POLITICAL ACTION.

The Rev. Geo. Reaney (Warrington) moved the next resolution. He said that while he agreed to a large extent with what had been said, he believed the springs of this movement lay deep down in the spiritual life of this nation—(Hear, hear)—and he should not like that the tone of this conference should be entirely political. They would be making a mistake if they moved away from that ground upon which the society was based to something which might be shifting and uncertain, if it were that of political expediency or party action. He moved:—

That in the judgment of this conference the extension to England and Wales and to Scotland of the principle of disestablishment already adopted in Ireland must, at an early period, become of paramount importance in the election of parliamentary representatives, and in determining the policy of political parties. It, therefore, would impress upon the supporters of the movement the necessity for so persistently pressing its object upon the attention of the electors in every constituency as to secure their intelligent concurrence and their unflinching support.

This resolution, he said, contained a precept and a prophecy, and if they heartily carried out the precept they would fulfil the prophecy. The

prophecy meant that this question of disestablishment must soon come before the constituents as a practical political question for them to act upon; and the precept was, if they did their duty, that they should bring before the electors this principle of disestablishment in order to secure their intelligent concurrence in it as a principle, and ultimately to get their unflinching support to it. (Hear, hear.) He referred to the paramount importance of their keeping the subject constantly before them, and the danger that when they went home, and family influence was brought to bear upon them, the matter would be for the moment forgotten. When they went home to their villages in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and their large manufacturing towns, and if an election should come, they might be told they were to support Mr. Gladstone, but they should not do so until Mr. Gladstone would consent to support them. He might be told that he should support Mr. Gladstone because of his ability and his past conduct; but he declared that in politics gratitude was grossly immoral. (Laughter.) He had nothing to do with what had been done, except to be thankful for it. (Loud laughter.) It did not necessarily follow that he was to be grateful to man for it. He might be thankful to something far beyond party leaders and political parties. (Hear, hear.) If they were to act on that resolution they would want more firmness, obstinacy, and "pig-headedness" than they ever had in the past; and they would have to be prepared to do some things in regard to local elections which must be very unpleasant. They might be told that if they did not support Mr. A. or Mr. B. they would lose the election, and the party would be broken up; and the question for them was whether they were prepared to lose the election and break up the party for the sake of their principles? (Cheers.)

Mr. J. C. Cox (Belper), who seconded the resolution, said that the necessity for there being an educated gentleman in every parish was the strongest argument used by their opponents. His answer was that it was a perfect insult to the Liberal Churchmen of the Church of England, when they knew the enormous wealth they really had, when they knew that they were by far the wealthiest ecclesiastical sect that existed, to say that they would not be able to devise some scheme like a diocesan synod fund by which the wants of an isolated district, in case a particular squire should not be generously disposed, should be met. (Cheers.) He believed that if a scheme could be devised by which the people of this country could be polled throughout, it would be found that the majority were on the side of the Liberationists; and he was therefore anxious to see a proper scheme of disestablishment perfected. (Cheers.)

SPEECH OF THE REV. J. G. ROGERS.

The Rev. J. Guinness Rogers, B.A., of Clapham, said that if any man was bound to accept responsibility for the strong electoral resolution adopted at the Manchester Nonconformist Conference he must take his full share of it, and he was quite prepared to do it that day. That resolution did the work which it was intended to do. It laid this alternative before the Liberal party—that either it must accept Liberal principles on the education question, or it must be broken up. It did not accept them, and it had been broken up. (Hear, hear.) He knew well what happened at various places at the general election. He knew how the members of the Government and the leading Liberals did, at the last moment, declare themselves in favour of the repeal or modification of the 25th clause. He knew that certain gentlemen came from London to the constituencies with a very different intention, and it was nothing but the presence of the Nonconformist element, and the strong action of that element, which compelled certain members of the Government to take the advanced position they did. Why, in the City of London this occurred? There was a private meeting prior to the public meeting, at which representatives from the various wards of the City one after another got up to declare and confess that it was idle to go to the poll unless they could conciliate the Nonconformists. They took decided ground, and this had been done to a greater extent than many believed. Well, the result was that they were in the cold shade of Opposition. He did not think it mattered much to them. He did not know that they were receiving fewer halfpence or getting more kicks; but they were in the cold shade of Opposition, and what was more, he hoped that they were one and all prepared, so far as they were concerned, to stay there till their party could return to power—not for the purpose of altering the names of the occupants of office, but for the purpose of altering principles on which the government of this nation was conducted. They were living, as all politicians were aware, at a crisis in the history of the Liberal party. He quite agreed with what the Chairman said, that the Liberal party passed the worst measure it had passed since it came into power. He quite agreed that the Liberal Ministers—he was not so clear about the Liberal party—did what the Tories did when in office. But how did the Liberal Ministers do it? Why by Tory votes, and because they themselves, in that particular measure, had become Tories. It was distinctly a Tory measure, and therefore the Tories, wise in their generation, passed it, and there it stood; but what they had to do was to ask, if that be the case, who were the Liberal party? Where were they to find them? Was the Liberal party represented by the right hon. gentleman who was in the House of Commons perpetually assailing his leader, and who went to Glasgow lately for the purpose of carrying

on the same work as he had done in the House of Commons? or was the Liberal party represented by the honourable gentleman at Chatham, who told his constituents, though he had been a member of the Administration, that he thought the affairs of the country were better conducted by the Conservatives than they had been by his own friends? He wanted to know who the Liberal party were? He had had a little bit of advice given to him, in common with other Liberationists, by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which advised them to read the Greville Memoirs. He had read them, and had obtained a great deal of political knowledge from them. In the first place, he had learnt this. Gentlemen got up and said to them, "Leave these questions alone; there are very excellent men in the Established Church, do not distress their feelings; just leave the thing alone, and there are explosive forces enough within the Establishment itself to secure its overthrow if you will only be quiet, and therefore it is your business to be quiet." That was very nice advice. There was nothing pleasanter than for a man to be quiet rather than to advocate an unpopular cause; but this was not the policy he learnt from history, as represented by the Greville Memoirs. Because, referring to the question of Catholic Emancipation, and to the vote of the Tories upon that measure, the writer said: "If the Irish Catholics had not brought matters to this pass by agitation, things might have remained as they were for ever; and all those Tories would have voted on to the day of their death against them." (Hear, hear.) He called that a piece of profound political wisdom; and if they would only put English Nonconformists and English Liberals in the place of Irish Catholics, they would have it exactly suited to their own case. If they did not give themselves to association and agitation, things would remain as they were—(Hear, hear); and the gentlemen who would come in by-and-by, and say, "We meant to go with you all along," and who would cheer them on to final victory, would go on to the day of their death voting against them, and against religious equality, unless they taught them a contrary lesson. (Cheers.) There was another thing which these memoirs taught. They told them a great deal about the Reform Bill, and the way in which it was passed, and they made it perfectly clear that if the people themselves had not determined to obtain reform, there was no such zeal amongst the Whig leaders as would have carried on the movement to a successful termination. To him nothing was more painful in these memoirs than the hollowness of many of the men who were professing to lead the Liberal party at that crisis. They were cried up and down the country as grand political heroes, and all the time they were trembling in their boots, and trying to find out a compromise in order to avoid taking the decided step to which they had, in a foolish moment, as they thought, committed themselves. They had now precisely the same thing to do, and if they were quiet and did not do their work, it was perfectly certain they would not find noble lords and right honourable gentlemen who would do it for them. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. C. Hopwood, M.P., said he came as a recruit to the ranks, but also as a determined soldier to do all that in him lay in the promotion of their work. He was not going to indulge in violent attacks on any portion of the Liberal party not educated up to their standard. But there might be other questions of great importance coming up, such as the representation of the country, which would greatly assist them. That which operated on the Liberal leaders was not so much love for the Establishment, as a dread of dealing with a big job, and an idea founded upon the notion of property, and a fear lest some day their own private property should be subjected to a disendowment process. But he doubted not if they spoke out their minds that they would produce an impression upon their leaders. If they continued the work of education the result might be accomplished much more rapidly than they supposed. As has been said, the Irish Church seemed strong, and one morning it fell. So it was in regard to all these questions; when they had been brought to an advanced stage of ripeness, there was a kind of geometric progression exhibited. Experience showed that when questions were referred to Convocation such as were now submitted, it ended in a bear-garden at last. Whatever compromise might be proposed by Convocation, he hoped it might be discussed in the light of day, and that their friends of the Established Church, seeing that questions of dogma and ceremonial in the Church must be discussed in a House of Commons composed of religious people and people of no religion, would eventually be found among the staunchest supporters of the movement. (Cheers.)

(Continued on page 1082 of paper.)

A cheque for 2,000 guineas, subscribed by the members of the Congregational Church, Blackheath, was presented last week to the Rev. J. Beasley, who, after a ministry extending over fourteen years, has been compelled, owing to ill-health, to retire.

THE AMERICAN EVANGELISTS IN DUBLIN.—On Friday a breakfast was given at the Shelbourne Hotel to Messrs. Moody and Sankey as a mark of appreciation of the evangelical work they are conducting. A large number of clergymen of the Church of Ireland and of the Presbyterian and Methodist communities, and many laymen of high position, joined in the compliment to the gentlemen whose earnest and eloquent inculcation of Christian doctrine has been much appreciated, and been productive of much good in that city.

BOOKS FOR MASTERS AND MISTRESSES OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Religious Tract Society, held Nov. 3, 1874, it was RESOLVED:—

"That all Masters and Mistresses of Public Day Schools for Primary Education, shall be permitted at any time during the first three years after their settlement, to purchase for their own personal use, from a Selected Catalogue of the Publications of the Society, any amount of Books not exceeding Three Pounds, on payment of half the Catalogue prices.

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SCOTTISH DISESTABLISHMENT ASSOCIATION.

STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

(To the Members of the General Council.)

Gentlemen.—At recent meetings of the Executive Committee, reports by the Secretary of his visits to various parts of Scotland were submitted, and the future operations of the Association formed the subject of anxious consideration.

From these reports it would appear that it is the general opinion of Nonconformists that it has now become an imperative duty to call for the Disendowment and Disestablishment of the present Scottish Ecclesiastical Establishment, and that the present time is a peculiarly favourable one for initiating proceedings in that direction. The course taken by the Government in connection with the Patronage Bill, and the manner in which the interests of the denominations outside of the Established Church were ignored, both by the Government and the House of Commons, seem to leave no other path open. The fact that the question of patronage was dealt with solely for the benefit of that Church, not only to the prejudice of all others, but in spite of earnest claims on the part of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches to be heard on the question, has made a very deep impression on the minds of the people of Scotland. By renewing State privileges not only to the Church of a minority, but to a Church having really less claim to these privileges, historically and otherwise, than other Disendowed Churches (whether these claims should be insisted on or not), the sense of injustice involved in the connection between the Church and the State has been greatly increased. The fact that Parliament has thus failed to recognise NATIONAL interests in its dealing with a national institution, has intensified a sense of wrong which nothing will remove but Disendowment.

It would further appear, from inquiries made by personal visitation of upwards of thirty towns and villages, and by correspondence with many others, that the opinion has also become general that the demand for Disestablishment should be made in connection with the proposal to divert the National Endowments or Teinds in the possession of the Church, as vacancies arise, to the School Boards of their respective localities. In numerous districts, towns as well as rural parishes, the tax for School Board purposes is high and is being found to be a very serious burden, especially by those who were never previously charged with an educational rate. Many landowners have now to pay a great deal more than under the old law, in consequence of the large expenditure rendered necessary by the compulsory nature of the obligations imposed on Boards by the Education Act. Such an experience has very naturally suggested the idea that it would be infinitely better that the Endowments, bestowed on merely a section of the community, should be diverted to educational purposes, thereby materially lessening, if not entirely relieving, the general community from the School Board rate, and at the same time conferring on the country the great blessing of education at low school fees.

At present, National Property is in the hands of a sect, and the question has arisen, Should not that property be applied to a really NATIONAL purpose? Nothing more truly national can be proposed than education.

Other advantages of such a plan of Disendowment are obvious. It would be simple and easy, in a legislative point of view; it would avoid the enormous evils which now appear in connection with the Disendowment of the Irish Church; it would be so gradual that the present Scottish Establishment could easily provide for the circumstances of her new position; and it is believed that no other destination for the endowments can be suggested nearer to, if not identical with, their original purpose. And if it shall be found (the important returns which we observe have been moved for in the House of Commons by Mr. McLaren, M.P., will show) that the Endowments held by the Church would be sufficient to meet the entire educational requirements of the country without a tax, the good effected would give universal satisfaction, the great injustice of the State Church in Scotland would be removed, and a feeling of equality created which would sweeten the breath of social and religious life.

In carrying forward, therefore, the operations of the Association, the Executive feel encouraged by the consideration that there exists such a large measure of agreement as to the purpose to which the Endowments ought to be applied. They believe that the thoroughly practical character of the plan will awaken increased interest in the question of Disestablishment in the minds of the people, and that ere long Parliament will feel constrained to admit the equity and justice of the claim for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of that section of the Presbyterian Church which forms the State Establishment in Scotland.

On behalf of the Executive Committee we beg respectfully to invite your co-operation with respect to the following important particulars:—

I. THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENTS.—Your views on this point earnestly invited. Information with regard to the operation of the Law of Teinds in all parts of the country desiderated.

II. BRANCH ASSOCIATIONS.—It is highly desirable that these should be formed in all parts of the country. You will be good enough to communicate with the Secretary as to the formation of one in your district, and to furnish him with the names of parties in your neighbourhood friendly to the objects of the Association.

III. THE £10,000 FUND.—Members of Council and others are specially requested to consider the claims of this Fund. As the work of the Association has now assumed considerable proportions, the raising of this Fund is of the utmost importance. Contributions to be sent direct to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. KELLY MORRISON, S.S.C., 10, Hanover-street, Edinburgh.

By means of the numerous Branch Associations which have now been formed, and the next number of the Occasional Paper shortly to be issued, you will have due intimation of the practical measures being adopted to further the objects of the Association. In the meantime we have most earnestly to solicit your co-operation in this important and, as we believe, most beneficent and scriptural cause.

In name of Executive Committee,
CHAS. COWAN, } Chairmen.
JAMES MORTON, }
JOHN GREIG, Secretary.

Office of the Association, 12, George IV. Bridge,
Edinburgh. October, 1874.

SCOTTISH DISESTABLISHMENT ASSOCIATION.

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ciation in the important work which has now devolved on it, are requested to forward their contributions to the Honorary Treasurer, A. K. MORRISON, Esq., S.S.C., 10, Hanover-street, to the undersigned at the Office of the Association, 12, George IV. Bridge, Edinburgh, or to the Commercial Bank, Edinburgh.

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